



Oliver Cromwell

J. R. 1749. Hove. Sculp.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Oliver Cromwel,
Lord Protector

Of the Commonwealth of
England, Scotland and Ireland.

Being an Account of all the Battles,
Sieges, and other Military Archeiv-
ments, wherein he was Ingaged, in
these Three Nations.

AND LIKEWISE,
Of his Civil Administrations, while he
had the Supream Government, till his
Death.

Relating only Matter of Fact, without
Passion or Partiality.

By R. Burton.

The Fifth Edition.

LONDON: Printed for Nath. Crouch at the
Bell against Grocers-Alley in the Poultry, near
Chear-side, 1715.



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TO THE
READER.

There have been few Persons upon whose Actions so many different Sentiments have passed, as upon those of Oliver Cromwel; some advancing his Courage & Reputation to the height, others on the contrary, depressing them as low, and not allowing that he had any Thing Praise-worthy in his Conduct; in those great Employments and Offices, even the Government of the three Nations, which he passed through: Yea, they invade the Almighty's Province, of Judging the Hearts and Thoughts of Men, attributing all to Hypocrisy and Ambition, asserting that he had hopes and expectations of raising himself to that grandeur whereto he after arriv'd, many years before he attained it; nay so early as when he was but a Collonel, and can hardly be thought to have had the least prospect thereof. But to leave every Man to his Opinion

in this matter, I thought it might not be unacceptable to my Country-men, to give a plain and impartial Account of matters of Fact performed and acted by him, both in his Military and Civil Capacity, without Reflections on Parties, which ought to be the care of a Faithful Historian, if he expects to be believed by Posterity. It is a Maxim, That great Virtues have been often mixed with great Vices in many great Men in the World; neither is Cromwel excused from this Censure; who had several worthy and blameable Qualities in him; but since he is out of the reach either of good or bad Report, I shall leave him, and refer you to read his Atchievements, which are briefly Related in the following Manual.

R. B.

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THE
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Oliver Cromwel.

Oliver Cromwel was descended of an Ancient Family in Huntington-shire, who had a plentiful Estate; his Grandfather was Sir Henry Cromwel, a Person of good Reputation, and had issue five Sons, Sir Oliver his eldest, Henry, Robert, Richard and Philip. This our Oliver Cromwel was Son of the third Brother Richard, who was in much Esteem in his Country, and married Eliz. Steward, Niece of Sir Rob. Steward, a Gentleman of a considerable Estate in that County, by whom he had this Oliver, who was born in Huntington, April 25. 1699, and had his name given by his Uncle Sir Oliver. When he was a Child he seemed to delight in Man-like Exercises, and by the care of his Father was sent to the Free-School of that Town, and afterward to Sydaey College in Cambridge, where while he was a Student, there were several Omens of his future Grandure, and he was observed more to be inclined to the Military than Contemplative Life: During his continuance here his Father died, upon which he returned home, and spent his time in the Youthful

Follies and Extravagancies incident to Persons of his Age and Temper; so his Mother, by the advice of her Friends, sent him up to London, and placed him in Lincolns-Inn, to qualifie him for a Gentleman, and put him in a Capacity to be serviceable to his Country.

Having continued here some time, and not able to confine himself to this Sedentary Employment, he again returns into the Country, and there proceeds in the same lewd Courses as before, but as he grew in years he became more solid and considerate, so that in a while he was as remarkable for his Sobriety, as before for his Rudeness and Vanity, which so much pleased his Uncle Sir Rob. Steward, that he left him his Heir to a fine Estate of 4 or 500 Pounds a Year. But before this came into his Hands by the Death of his Uncle, the Reputation of it, and the remarkable Alteration in his Disposition, recommended him to Eliz. Daughter of Sir James Boucher, whom he Married: And though at first, when this notable Reformation, was perceived in him, he adhered to the Church of England, frequenting the most famous Preachers with much seeming Warmth and Zeal; yet when those called Puritans grew Popular, he began to have a good Opinion of them, inviting the Ministers to his House, and entertraing them with much Kindness; and to demonstrate the reality of the change of his Mind, there is an Instance of his freely returning a considerable Sum of Money to a Person from whom he had won it some Years before by Gaming.

Such Actions, and the seeming Sincerity of his Conversation, raised his Esteem yet higher with all Persons of that Party, who had such an Opinion of his Wisdom and Abilities, that when King Charles I. called that Parliament in 1640. which for its duration was named the Long, he was by the Interest of his Friends elected Parliament Man for the Town of Cambridge. Soon after the War began between the King and Parliament; one Party declaring they took

Arms for defending the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the other the Priviledges of Parliament & Liberties of the People. When this fatal division happened, wherein so many thousands lost their Lives & Estates, Cromwel, whose Inclination was always Martial, presently engaged in the quarrel, & having a Commission from the Parliament, quickly raised a Troop of Horse for their Service, of the most promising Men they could choose, and to try their Valour in Jest, before they came to exercise it in earnest, he secretly ordered a dozen of them to issue out suddenly upon the rest, with a Trumpet sounding a Charge, as if they came from some of the Kings Garrisons not far off, which they performed with so much briskness, that about 20 of the new Troopers fled with all possible speed, whom Cromwel having reproached for their Cowardice dismounted and cashier'd, mounting their Horses with Persons of a more couragious Temper.

He was likewise a Commissioner in the Ordnance for settling the Militia, whereby the Eastern Counties associated together, declaring they would stand by the Parliament against all Opposers; and Cromwel being sensible that the University of Cambridge was most inclined to the Royal Interest, he had a particular regard to the Place of his Education, and very dexterously secured both the Town, and a great quantity of the College Plate, even at the very instant when it was upon the point of being conveyed to the King at Oxford. After this he forms a Garrison at Whittlesea, where a Bridge joins the County of Norfolk with the Isle of Ely, and is the only passage from thence into Lincolnshire, the greatest part whereof was possessed by the King's party; and by this means he cut off all communication between the King's party of both Counties, wherein he had the Assistance of Coll. Ireton, with whom he here became first acquainted.

The King in Opposition to the Association which the Parliament had settled, issued out his Commission of Array, which was first designed to be put in Execution

cution by Sir Hen. Connisby, High Sheriff of Hartford-shire at St. Albans, who thereby intended to raise the Country for the King, but while he was going to proclaim the Parliament, and their General the Earl of Essex, Traytors; by the vigilance of Cromwel he was prevented in his purpose, who coming suddenly into the Town with a party of Horse, surprized Sir Henry, and some other Gentlemen his Assistants, whom he sent to London Prisoners, to the great satisfaction of the Parliament, who were somewhat disturbed that such an attempt should be made so near the City, and returned him the Thanks of the House, from this time looking upon him as a Person of Merit and Conduct: After which he soon augmented his Troops to 1000, many being willing to adventure their Lives with such a Fortunate Commander. And hearing that some Knights and Gentlemen were met at Lower Tost in Suffolk, with Sir John Petrus, Sir Edward Baker, &c. designing to make a Counter-Association in that County and Norfolk for the Kings Service; with indefatigable Diligence he marches thither, securing them all, which was a fatal Blow to the Kings Interest; and Lyn-Regis, which the Royalists maintained, being soon after surrendered, was so great a discouragement to them, that during the whole War they could never after find any opportunity to shew their Affection to the King's Cause.

The associated Counties being thus firmly settled for the Parliament, Cromwel was made Lieut. General to the Earl of Manchester, who had a separate Command in those Counties, and was now ordered to march Northward with those Forces, and join General Lesly and the Scots, assisted by Sir. T. Fairfax, for reinforcing the Siege before York, then beleaguer'd by Lesly: In his march he blocks up the Garrison of Newark, and meeting some of their Party at Grantham, charged them with such fury, that though much superior to him in number, yet himself march-

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ing in the Van, he soon put them to flight. Having thus made a quick dispatch at Newark, he proceeded to York, in which the Marquiss of Newcastle had put the best part of the King's Forces.

The King having had an advantage against the E. of Essex at Lestithel in Cornwal, sent away Prince Rupert as General, with a powerful Army to raise the Siege of York, which he judged to be of great Importance; the three Generals, Lestly, Manchester, and Fairfax, drew off their Forces from the City to fight him, as knowing if they got the day, it must be surrendered to the Victor without blows. The Prince having notice of their raising the Siege, sent some of his Troops toward Hassam-Mote, to face General Lestly and his Scots; but in the mean time enters into York with 2000 Horse, and all Provisions for their Relief, after which he resolved to fight the Parliamentarians though dissuaded by the Marquiss of Newcastle, knowing what hazard the Estates of the King's Friends would run if he should miscarry, and that upon the fate of this Battle the gain or loss of the North depended. However the Prince pretending to march to Tadcaster, Lestly with his Army followed him, but returning again suddenly to Marston-Moor, he takes what advantage of Ground he thinks fit, and Lestly coming up, the Generals Marshall'd their Army in the best order they could for the shortness of time. Fairfax and Lestly's Horse making the Right Wing, and the Scots Troops and Manchester the Left, under the Command of Cromwel, which charge was that day committed to him; the Foot making up the main Body. The Armies being drawn up in this form, the first Onset was performed by P. Ruperts Left Wing, with such Fury as they broke the Parliaments Right, and pursuing their advantage with much Vigour, the Earth was soon covered with the slain, Cromwel being in the Left Wing, and ignorant of the misfortune of the Right, with much courage engages the Princes Right Wing, which quickly altered the Scene.

of Affairs, and snatched the Victory out of the Prince's Hand, who seemed in probability to have obtained it. For Fairfax's Forces were totally diffipated, and beaten out of the Field, when Cromwel with his Troops fell on with such Resolution, that he routed the Prince and his Reserves, and with the same Violence charged the Marquis of Newcastle's Foot, who yet stood till the Field was almost cleared, and then were forced to give way to the number of their Enemies; there were many slain, especially in the pursuit. Cromwel here obtained the name of Iron-sides, from the impenetrable firmness of his Troops, which no force could separate or break. It is reckoned to be the bloodiest Fight that happened during the War, it being judged near ten thousand Men were slain on both sides. Upon this defeat, P. Rupert and his Followers charge the Miscarriage upon the Marquis of Newcastle, and he again upon them, who thereupon left the Kingdom. The Consequence of this Victory was the rendition of York, which being now afresh besieged, and despairing of Succour, Sir Tho. Glemham the Valiant Governour was obliged to deliver it up.

This success raised Cromwel's reputation higher still, and the Parliament at Westminster were extremely pleased with his Courage and Prudence, that when he saw part of the Army routed, yet with an undaunted presence of mind, he took occasion from thence to animate his Soldiers to the more vigorous recovery of the victory; even when the Scots had timorously left the Field, and of whom, for this and other reasons, he had no great Opinion afterward. Several other Exploits he was engaged in, both in the North and West, even before he had any considerable Command. For while he was in the same quality under the Earl of Manchester he was ordered to return to the North to oppose the King then marching triumphantly from the West after the defeat of Essex, who having been unfortunate in his Enterprises, Cromwel this successful Commander was joined with him, who at the se-

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cond Battle at Newbury, about four Months after Marston Moor, was favoured, though not with a compleat Victory, yet with such good fortune, that where his Troops were the Royalists gave back with so much precipitation as greatly endangered the Kings Person had not the Earl of Cleveland interposed, and with much hazard prevented the pursuit.

A late Author writes, that when the King summoned the Members of Parliament of his Party to meet at Oxford, in January 1644. Williams A. Bishop of York was likewise summoned, with whom the King privately consulted, what course was best to be taken in the present circumstances of Affairs: The Archbishop advised him by all means to come to an agreement with the Parliament. For since the Scots were come into England in such numerous Armies, and the English of the Parliament Party in these 2 last Years had gained such Military Knowledge, it would in all appearance be impossible for the King long to withstand their Forces; but above all he advised the King to get Cromwel over to his side, if possible; otherwise to take him off by any means; or else he would be fatal to the Kings Cause.

Now was Cromwel less terrible to the Earl of Essex and the Scots Commissioners, than to the Kings Party, so that one Evening the Earl of Essex, and several of his Confederates, namely Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, with the Scots Commissioners, were in Consultation how to get rid of him; and sent to the Serjeants Whitlock and Maynard about it. Who being met, the Earl of Lowden Chancellor of Scotland spake thus, in his Scots Dialect (observe that those which the Parliament of England called Malignants the Scots named Incendiaries.)

‘ Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitlock, I can assure you
‘ of the great Opinion, both my Brethren and self
‘ have of your worth and abilities, else we should not
‘ have desired this meeting with you: And since it is
‘ his Excellencies (the Earl of Essex) pleasure that I
‘ should

should acquaint you with the matter upon which
 your Council is desired, I shall obey his Commands,
 and briefly recite the Business to you. You ken va-
 ry weel that Gen. Lieutenant Cromwel is no Friend
 of ours; and since the advance of our Army into
 England, he has used an underhand and cunning
 means to take off from our Honour, and the Merits
 of this Kingdom; an evil requital of all our hazards
 and services; but so it is, and we are nevertheless
 fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the
 gude People of the Nation in general. It is thought
 requisite for us, and for carrying on the Cause of
 the twa Kingdoms, that this Obstacle or Remora be
 removed out of the way, whom we foresee will
 be no small impediment to us in the gude design we
 have undertaken. He not only is no Friend to us,
 and the Government of our Kirk, but he is no well-
 willer to his Excellency, whom you and we have
 all cause to love and honour; and if he be permitted
 to go on in this way, may I fear indanger the whole
 business: Therefore we are to advise of some course
 to be taken for prevention of this Mischief. You
 ken vary weel the accord between the twa Nations
 and the Union by the solemn League and Covenant
 and if any be an incendiary between the twa Na-
 tions, he is to be proceeded against. Now the mat-
 ter is wherein we desire your Opinions, What you
 take the meaning of an Incendiary to be, and whe-
 ther Lieut. Gen. Cromwel be not like an Incendiary
 as is meant hereby? and wilk way wad be best to
 proceed against him, if he be proved like an Incen-
 diary, and that we may clepe his Wings from soar-
 ing to the prejudice of our Cause. Now you may
 ken, that by our Law in Scotland, we clepe him an
 incendiary wha kindleth Coals of Contention
 and raiseth Difference in the State, to the publick
 damage, and he is *Tanquam Publicus Hostis Patrie*
 Whether your Law be the same or not, you ken
 best

' best, who are mickle Learned therein, and therefore we desire your Judgment in these Points.

To this Mr. Whitlock answered That the sense of the Word Incendiary is the same here as in Scotland, namely one that kindleth the Fire of Contention in a State, that kindleth hot burning Flames of Contention: But whether Lieutenant General Cromwel be such an Incendiary must be proved either by his Words or Actions; That he took him to be a Gentleman of quick and subtil Parts, and who had a great Interest in both Houses of Parliament, and that it would be necessary to collect such particular passages relating to him as might amount to prove him an Incendiary, before they could expect the Parliament would proceed against him. Mr Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and others, related some particular Passages and Words of Cromwel, adding that he had not that Interest in the Parliament as was supposed, and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him, but the Scots Commissioners were not so forward to join with them in it, and so this Affair ended.

The War still continuing with much Bloodshed, and no period in probability like to be put to it, the Parliament apprehended want of Conduct in some of their chief Commanders, and resolved to new model their Army, and that no offence might be given to any of their own Members by being discarded, they pass the Self denying Ordinance, so called, whereby they declared, ' That no Member of Parliament should bear Office in the Army, or Garrison, but altogether attend the Service of the House, unless they had leave for so doing; and that within 40 days from the publishing thereof. By this the Earls of Essex, Manchester and Denbigh, Sir W. Walter, Sir Ph. Stapleton, and divers others, were dismiss'd; after which they recruited their Forces, much diminished by sickness, and the late defeat in the West, and in a short time they mustered a compleat Army of 21000; that

is, 14000 Foot, 6000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons. Sir Tho. Fairfax General; who gave out divers Commissions to them then newly called Independants, and among others Ireton was raised to be Commissary General of the Horse, who had newly married one of Cromwel's Daughters, and was as great a Politician as himself.

Upon publishing this Ordinance, which was in 1645. Cromwel then in the West, in Obedience thereto, returns toward London, and having notice that Gen. Fairfax was at Windsor, went to wait upon him and take his leave of him; but the Parliament were so sensible of his usefulness and conduct to discharge him; so the next morning a Commission was sent to him to be Lieut. General for the whole Army. This alteration gave hopes to the Royal Party of future success against this new Army, so many principal Commanders being laid aside and discontented; and such a number of unexperienced Youths listed. But these expectations soon vanished, for Cromwel by virtue of the dispensing Power of the Parliament, being still continued and advanced to so great a Command, to make it appear that they were not mistaken in their choice, he instantly proceeds to Action, being sent by Fairfax with a flying party of Horse and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horse, consisting of the Queens, the Earl of Northampton's, and Colonel Palmers Regiments; who with some other Troops were marching to Oxford to bring off the King and Train of Artillery, and to procure Recruits for the Army, and so join with the Kings main mid-land Forces under Pr. Rupert, then about Worcester, and then take the Field. In this Exploit Cromwel was so diligent, that with extraordinary celerity he met with, surprized and routed them at Millip-bridge, taking 500 Horse, and 200 Prisoners, with the Queens Standard, and many Persons of Quality; and pushing on his success, having notice that Sir Wil. Vaughan, with 350 Foot, were marching toward Radcot-bridge; he followed

followed them, taking their Commander Lieut. Colonel Littleton, & 200 other Prisoners; pursuing the rest to Blechingdon-House, where Col. Windebank was Governour, and in the height of his Victories summoned him to an immediate surrender, or else to expect the utmost vengeance of an enraged Soldiery. The Governour terrified with these threats, and overpersuaded by some Ladies, who came to visit his Bride, he being newly married, and having little hopes of relief from Oxford, delivered up the House with all the Arms and Ammunition therein; for which, when he came to Oxford, he was shot to death by sentence of a Council of War. This Enterprize was reckoned as a happy Omen of his future success in his new honour, and the prudence of the Parliament magnified in continuing so deserving a Commander in the Army; who to secure his Reputation resolved upon a more dangerous Attempt, namely to reduce Faringdon-House, of which Sir Geo. Lisle, a Person of invincible Courage, was Governour, and a Garrison which had been of great advantage to the King. To effect this considerable service, he took 600 of Major Gen. Browns Foot at Abingdon, with which he stormed the Place, but was as stoutly repulsed, and forced to retire with the loss of 50 of his Soldiers, and in his retreat was attackt by a Party of Lieutenant Goring's Horse lately come from the Siege of Taunton, who gave Cromwel the first Check he had met with, taking three Colours, and Major Bethel Prisoner, and then returned to the Siege at Taunton.

At this time Fairfax had orders to march to the relief of Taunton, and Cromwel was left behind with Brown, to watch the motion of the Kings Army at Oxford, who were then ready to take the Field, and to prevent them from joining a brave Body of Horse that were coming out of Worcester-shire under the Princes Rupert and Maurice; But the Royal Army was grown so potent, that Cromwel durst not attempt either to fight or hinder their march, so that Fair-

fax was remanded and ordered to lye before Oxford, to oblige the King to secure that place, and upon advantage to fight him; The King having joined the two Princes, and raised the siege of Chester, beleaguered by Sir Will. Brereton, was marching toward the Associated Countreys, wherein lay the strength of the Parliament; so Cromwel was ordered with all speed to secure the Isle of Ely, as being a Frontier to the rest of the Country: But the King ~~ate~~ down before Leicester, and soon took it, which so alarm'd the Parliament, that they order Fairfax to rise from Oxford, and seek out and fight the King's Army, who (as he writ to his Queen) was then in a more hopeful condition then during the War. Fairfax obeyed, and Cromwel being recruited with 600 Horse of the Association, came to join the Army then marching toward Northampton.

The General had information that the King had Quartered his Foot and Carriages upon Burrough-hill near Daventry, as if he intended there to expect him, but it was only to tarry till the 1200 Horse, sent as a Convoy to the Cattle taken in Leicester and Northampton shire for relief of Oxford, were returned, designing afterward the Reduction of Pomfret-Castle in the North, and all the other places lost since Marston-Moor; and if Fairfax followed him to have fought him with the first advantage; which he could not do so conveniently where the Parliament had their Garrisons. But Cromwel disappointed this Project, by whose Council Ireton was dispatch'd with a detachment of Horse to take an account of the posture of the King's Army; with Order that if they marched Northward, he should skirmish and employ them in the Rear, till the whole Army could arrive and engage. The day before the Battle the General marched to Gilsborough, five Miles from Burrough-hill, from whence the Royalists, their Horse being come back from Oxford, were bending their Course Northward, and the next Night the King was extremely

surprized

surpriz'd to find Ireton give an Alarm to his quarters at Naseby, from whence about Eleven a Clock the King departed to Harborough, where Prince Rupert with the Van of the Army were, and at a Council of War it was resolv'd on, as being the King's Opinion, that to secure his Rear, they should march no farther North, but presently give the Enemy Battle, depending much upon the Valour of the Foot, who were lately animated by the plunder of Leicester.

This advice was followed, though most of the Officers were for staying till the Lord Gorings Forces came up, but the King being much stronger in Horse doubted not of Success, and the other were as ready to engage, so that both agreeing in discord, a large Field near Naseby was the place chosen by both Parties for the Stage of this Tragedy, wherein Fathers fought against Sons, and Brothers gave Death to each other, all obligations of kindred and friendship being laid aside, occasioned by that unnatural spirit of division, which Heaven for our Crimes had sent amongst us. The King had intelligence that Fairfax for fear was retreating to Northampton, but found it a mistake he being then employ'd in marshalling his Army in Naseby Field, and waiting for his coming. Cromwel and Whalley commanding the Right Wing, and Ireton the Left. The Kings Front was compos'd of a gallant Body of Horse, the Foot made a second Body, the right Wing commanded by P. Rupert and Maurice, the left by Sir Jacob Astley, and the Lord Langley commanded the Northern Brigade of Horse. Other ancient Commanders who had been in the Low Countries having their several Posts, the King himself being Generalissimo. These being drawn out with the Reserves, took up the whole breadth of the Field: The Parliaments Foot made a firm Body in the midst, commanded by Major General Skippon, secured by the Horse on each side. P. Rupert charged first with such fury upon Ireton, notwithstanding their valiant resistance, that the left Wing which he commanded

was



was utterly routed, and his men driven upon the Kings Foot, Ireton was wounded in the Thigh with an Halbert, and kept Prisoner during the Fight, and the Field cleared on that side. The Prince pursued them through the Town, and then fell upon the Waggons, where being repulsed, he lost so much Time, that Cromwel and Fairfax who had not yet stirr'd from their ground, but with short Speeches and Ejaculations were encouraging their Men, came up; and Cromwel clapping Spurs to his Horse, charged clear thro' three Bodies of Langdales Brigade, and utterly routed them, never ceasing till he had beat the whole right Wing of the Kings Army from their ground, without any possibility of Rallying; so that having raked the Field before him,

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him, dividing the Horse from the Foot, they were rendered useless to each other. In this encounter, one of the Kings Commanders knowing Cromwel advanced briskly before the head of his Troops, to exchange a single Bullet with him, and was with the like gallantry encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their Pistols being discharged, the King's Officer with a slanting back blow of a broad Sword, happened to cut the Ribbon that tyed Cromwels Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his Head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, Cromwels party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting threw up his Head piece into his Saddle, which he hastily catching, and a little disturbed at the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his Head, and so fought the rest of the day, which proved highly fortunate to his side, tho' the King managed the fight with much magnanimity and expertness, and exposed himself to several threatening Dangers in the Field. The Horse being separated from the Foot, fled toward Leicester, Cromwel sent some Troops in pursuit to prevent their rallying and himself joining with his own Foot, so encompassed the King's Infantry, that notwithstanding the courage they had shewed that day, so that their very Enemies admired them, yet being tired and hopeless of Relief, seeing Death on every Side, they laid down their Arms and beg'd for Quarter.

This memorable Battle was fought June 14. 1645. The Parliamentarians Word was, God with Us. The Royalists, God and Queen Mary; and the Success of it gave an absolute and undoubted Victory to the Parliament, there being 5000 Prisoners carried to London, the Kings Standard and other Colours being taken; with all the Ordnance, and a very rich booty; a great quantity of Gold and Silver, and all the secret Letters of the King, which were carried to London, and publickly read before a great Assembly of Citizens, where many Members of Parliament were present, and leave was given to as many as pleased, or knew

knew the Kings Hand, to refute them if they were Counterfeit. But so few were slain in this fight, that the Reader may justly wonder how so many Prisoners should be taken, and so much Wealth gotten with the loss of so little blood; for on the Kings side scarce 400 were slain, and on the Parliaments not 100. The Kings damage was very considerable, who had lost a brave Army, lately heightened with Success by the taking of Leicester, and there seemed no possibility of raising another, the Victors prosecuting their advantage with much vigilance and impetuosity. For marching to Leicester it was soon delivered to them, where Fairfax leaving a Garrison to hinder the King from recruiting himself, followed him close, marching Westward, both in pursuit of him, and to raise the Siege of Taunton, which had been long blockt up by the L. Goring, and held out to admiration, but upon the approach of the Parliaments Army, the Siege was raised to their great Joy, who still pursue Goring, and overtake him near Lamport, where they ingage and put them to Flight. But Cromwell would not suffer part of the Horse to pursue, till being all come up together, he himself led them on with such notable Conduct, that most of the Foot were made Prisoners, and almost all the Cannon taken. From hence he marched to Bridgwater, which tho' of considerable strength, and defended with much Courage, yet is soon taken by storm; for Sir Thomas Fairfax sits down before it, and after Summons assaults the Town desperately, gaining the lower part, and then sends a second Summons, telling them, That their denial wrought no other Thoughts of compassion in him, but only to Women and Children, who might suffer by the Governours obstinacy. So divers Ladies, Gentlewomen and Children came out of the Town, and then a second assault was made so effectually, that the Governour Capitulated, and surrendered it, there being 1000 Officers, and Sol-

diers

iers Prisoners, 44 Barrells of Powder, 1500 Arms,
4 Cannon, and 400 weight of Match taken

About this time a sort of People armed themselves
in the West, and took upon them the Name of Club-
men, declaring they would permit no Armies to
Quarter within their Bounds, and were so hardy as
to make Terms with the General, as if by Club-Law
they would force him out of their Country, though
slight with Victory; imagining that with their Clubs,
they were able to force their Swords from those who
had so lately deprived so many gallant Men of theirs.
But Cromwel doubting the event of such riotous pro-
ceedings, having Intelligence of the place of their
assembling, marches toward them with a Party of
Horse, though they were 4000 strong, and encamp-
ed on the top of a Hill, with their Ensigns display-
ed, and this Motto on them.

If you offer to plunder, or take our Cattle,

You may be sure we'll give you Battle.

But Cromwel resolves to venture it, and charging
up the Hill utterly routs and puts them to flight, mak-
ing 400 Prisoners, whom he carried to Sherburn,
Sir Lewes Dives being Governour of the Castle which
was then besieged by Fairfax, and in a short time
taken by storm.

Bristol was reckoned a place of Importance, as be-
ing counted the greatest and wealthiest City in the
West, wherein Prince Rupert was at that time, with
3000 Horse and Foot, and all necessary Provisions.
When the Parliaments Army came before it, the Ge-
neral sends a Summons to the Prince to deliver the
City, which being rejected, Cromwel and the chief
Officers advise the storming it, whereupon the Pr.
proposed to surrender, upon condition to march a-
way in the height of Honour, with their Arms, Co-
lours flying, Trumpets, Drums beating, Powder and
Match, Baggage, Horse, Arms, ten pieces of Cannon,
and 50 Barrells of Powder. Lastly, the Fortifications
to be slighted and the City to be no more a Garrison.

and Sol. to be slighted and the City to be no more a Garrison.

But these Conditions being thought too favourable, they proceeded to storm so warmly that the Prince, though he used all possible means to preserve it, was obliged to surrender, wherein were found 140 Cannon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, and Victuals in the Royal Fort for 150 Men for 320 Days; the Castle was victualled for half so long. The Prince had in Garrison 2500 Horse, 1000 Foot, 1000 of the trained Bands and Auxillaries; so that the gaining this place was of great Consequence to the Parliament.

After this Cromwel Marches with a Detachment of four Regiments, to besiege the strong Castle of the Devizes, to the natural Fortifications whereof, Sir Ch. Lloyd the Governour had made several ingenious Additions, so that judging it almost impregnable he sent no other returns to the Summons, but, Win it and Wear it. Yet the Fortune of Cromwel prevailed against all Difficulties, and his Name brought terror where ever he came, so that he quickly forced the Governour to deliver the place upon terms. Winchester ran the same Fate after the Governour had been mortified by the Battery of some Cannon and Mortars: where Cromwel, who was punctual to Articles, having notice that some of his Men had infringed them, he caused one to be hanged for example to others, and sent the rest to Oxford, to the Governour Sir Tho. Glemham, to inflict what Punishment upon them he pleased.

The next Exploit wherein our Heroe was concerned, was the reducing of Basing House, which seemed to defie all attempts made against it, being the Mansion House of the Marquis of Winchester, built on a rising Ground, and surrounded with a brick Rampart lined with Earth, and all encompassed with a dry Ditch. The Marquis was resolved to defend it, tho' at first there was none but his own Family, and 200 Musqueteers from Oxford, but the King supplied him as occasion required. This was not the first time this Garrison had been attackt without Success, as first by the

the Collonels Norton and Harvey, and then by Sir William Waller with 7000 Men; and tho' some termed him William the Conqueror, yet he received here such rude Treatment, as incouraged the Besieged to defend it with the greater Vigour, who in several gallant Sallies did him great Damage. so that the Place seemed impregnable; but Cromwel having settled all matters at Winchester with the late Governour Sir W. Ogle, marches next Day to Basing, and raises a strong Battery, that quickly made it capable of being assaulted; which advantage he instantly perceiving, orders a storm from the several Posts, which though it seemed full of Danger, and might have shockt an ordinary Courage, yet Cromwel, who thought no place invincible, and the more danger the more honour, leads on his Men with such Fury, that the Besieged soon found themselves incapable to make any further resistance, and so were forced to yield upon Articles. The gaining of Basing was reckoned a great piece of Service to the Nation, whereby the Road was opened for Trade from London to the West which had been long obstructed by this Garrison. He goes from hence to Longford House near Salisbury, but the Governour despairing of preserving it, after Basing had been forced to surrender to Cromwel's victorious Arms, upon the first Summons delivered it up.

He then marches with the Army, commanded by Fairfax toward the West. In December they took Tiverton, and with strange Success stormed and took Dartmoeth, drove the Kings Army into Cornwall, and at Torrington gave Hopton a great overthrow. In February they entred Cornwall, and obliged Prince Charles to retire thence and sail to the Isles of Scilly, and soon after Hopton's Forces were disbanded, and Pendennis Castle being surrendred to Coll. Fortescue, the whole Country of Cornwall and the West, were by Fairfax and Cromwel reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament, and nothing remained in the North but

but the Garrison of Newark, so that the Royalists hopes were very low; only they had some expectations from a Party still remaining under Sir Jacob Astley, but Coll. Morgan encountring him near Stow in the Wold, routed him, and took 1600 of his Men prisoners, so that this hope soon vanished with the rest; when he was seized he spake aloud these words, ' You have done your work, and wholly vanquished the Kings Party, unless your own Dissentions raise them again.

After this, Newark, the strongest Garrison in the North, was close besieged by Leven, Points and Rositer, while Fairfax hastened to besiege Oxford it self, which was the head quarters. The King had now no Garrisons left but these, Banbury, Wallingford, Worcester, Ragland, and Pendennis, all which in a short time were also taken, and could only glory in this, That they held out after Oxford. The besieged Newarkers, tho' the Plague raged in the Town, and they began to want Provisions, yet sustained themselves upon hopes of some Differences between the English and Scots; for now the Scots began to complain for want of pay, of the neglect of Church Government, and the Covenant. The Parliament answered, ' That in two Years Space they had received above two hundred thousand pounds for pay, besides a vast sum which had been extorted from the weeping Inhabitants of the Northern Countries, and that their Army had not answered their Expectation, lying idle the best time of the Year, and if they were so precise in observation of the Covenant, why contrary thereto had they put Garrisons into Newcastle, Tinsmouth, and Carlisle? Neither ought they to mention Religion being unsettled, since the Parliament were consulting about it, being a matter which requires time and mature Deliberation.

From these dissentions the King expected some advantage, yet Oxford was already blockt up by Fleetwood and Ireton, and Fairfax was daily expected

to come and turn it into a close Siege; before this should happen the King resolved to go out of the City, and consulting with some of his inward Counsellors, it was concluded he should go to the Scots Camp, then lying before Newark; the King sent Montravel the French Ambassador before, and himself soon after, as Coll. Ashburnham's Man (who had a Pass from Fairfax to go out of Oxford, about some private business) with a Cloak-bag behind him, escaped unknown, and came to Newark, which when the besieged Newarkers had Notice of, being in great straits, they upon conditions surrendered the Town. The Scots seemed amazed at the King's unexpected coming to them, and so signified the matter to the English Commissioners then on the place. Letters were instantly written to London and Edenburg, and the Parliament at Westminster required the Scots to detain the King at Southwell near Newark, but contrary to this Order, they carried him to Kelham, where a greater part of their Army lay, and soon after without further Order, removed their Camp Northward, and carried him away to Newcastle with them, excusing their departure by alledging Newark being yielded, no work was left for them; but that as the King came to them of his own accord, unexpected, so he followed their Army, neither being intreated nor forbidden by them; but they seemed to hasten their departure, by reason of a rumour, that Cromwell with all his Horse was marching toward them. This Action much offended the English Parliament, and they complain'd both of the Scots and the King.

In May 1646. Gen. Fairfax with his whole Army, came before Oxford; the City was very strong, being fortified according to the exact Rules of Art to make it impregnable, invironed with regular Forts, and provided with a potent Garrison of 5000 valiant Soldiers, having great stores of Provisions, and the Governor was Sir T. Glemham, who had sufficiently demonstrated his courage & conduct in holding out York and

Carlisle to the last extremity. The General disposing his Quarters round the City, summoned the Governour to surrender, who returned, ' That he would send to know the King's Mind, and act accordingly. This answer was not satisfactory, yet Fairfax and his Commanders doubting it would be a tedious Siege, were put in hopes by some Spies, that it could not hold out long, by reason of the divisions between the Nobility and Soldiers, the first being for treating now, and so obtain honourable conditions; which they did accordingly, and the Parliament decreed, ' That the Besieged should have the best conditions, rather than waste their Army, which might be more useful elsewhere; for they designed to send them into Ireland against the Rebels there.

Thus was Oxford surrendered, and the Garrison marched out in sight of Fairfax's Army, with great Quiet and Modesty on both Sides: The D. of York was honourably conducted to London, where two of the Kings Children remained, thither went also all the Noblemen; neither were any of the Besieged denied to go to London, but the Princes Rupert and Maurice, who being commanded to go out of England, prepared for their departure. Pr. Charles about this time sailed from Scilly with a few of his inward Counsellors to Jersey, in order to go to his Mother in France, which the King having advice of, sent him this short Letter from Newcastle.

' Charles, I write to you only that you should know where I am, and that I am in health, not to direct you at this time, in any thing, for what I would have you do I have already written to your Mother, to whom I would have you obedient in all things, except Religion, (about which I know she will not trouble you) and go no whether without her or my Command. Write often to me. God bless you.

Your loving Father C. R.

Soon after the surrender of Oxford, followed the end of this fierce War; for Worcester, Wallingford, Pendennis and Ragland, yielded to the Victors: Peace now seemed to be restored to England, but the Parliament had no Security, being grievously troubled with Factions among themselves, under the Name of Presbyterians and Independents, not only in matters of Church Government, but often in their Votes, and in transacting almost all other Business; and this humour spread it self into the City, Country and Camps, and the Parliament doubting Coll. Maileys Forces might mutiny, upon that account sent Fairfax to disband them, being 2500 Horse; which was quietly done in eight days time, though they did not then receive their Pay.

The Scots carrying the King into the North, the Parliament Voted, ' That the Person of the King ' should be disposed of by the Authority of both ' Houses of the Parliament of England: But the Scots denied to deliver him up, alledging, That he was no less King of England than Scotland, which caused great dissention between the two Nations. But at length upon paying the Scots 200000 pounds, they agreed to deliver up Berwick, Carlisle and Newcastle, and the Kings Person also to the English Commissioners, who was received with great Respect and Honour by the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, and the other Commissioners, and waited on with much observance, and an honourable Guard to his Palace at Holmby in Northamptonshire.

The Civil Wars being ended, a dissention more than Civil arose among the Conquerors, and extremely imbitred the Minds of Men against each other, one party complaining, That the Covenant was broken: The other, That it was not rightly interpreted by them. And on both sides were Men of Reputation; and several Petitions were drawn up against the Army (lately so much admired) as maintainers of the Independent Party, who then lay about Saffron-

Walden in Essex. Yea, it was debated in Parliament whether they should be disbanded or not, which Cromwel, who sided with the Independants, having notice of, he with Ireton insinuated into the Soldiers, That the Parliament intended to disband them without their Arrears, or else to send them into Ireland to dye of the Sickness and Famine, which caused the Soldiers to use contumelious Speeches against the two Houses; a Council was set up, consisting of a Commission-Officers, and two private Soldiers out of every Regiment, to meet and consult for the good of the Army, and to draw up and present all their Grievances to the General, and these were called Adjutors: Who having met by the Instigation of Cromwel and some others, that made them sensible of their own strength they resolved upon seizing the King at Holmby-House, under pretence of freeing him from that narrow restraint under which he was kept by the Parliaments Order. To effect which, Cornet Joyce is sent thither with 500 Horse, who took the King out of the Parliament Commissioners Hands, and carried him along with them in the Army. This the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done without his consent; and that the reason alledged by the Actors was, Because certain Persons had designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather strength to make a new War, which they were ready to prove.

When this was known, an Order passed both Houses of Parliament; and was sent to the General;

1. That the King should reside at Richmond
 2. That he should be attended with the same Persons he was at Holmby.
 3. That Rossiters Regiment should Guard him.
- The Presbyterians who were the greater number in Parliament, being further alarm'd by these proceedings, resolved to divide the Army, and send part of it to Ireland, and presently to cashier Cromwel and his Assistants: So they publish a Declaration, forbidding the Soldiers to petition the Par-

liament

liament as being under their Command : Likewise they had privately resolved to sieze upon Cromwel, when in London, who having notice of it, got secretly and hastily out of Town, and with full speed rid to Tripoly Heath, so that his Horse was all in a foam, and was received with the acclamations of the whole Army, to whom he discovered the Intentions of the Parliament ; whereupon they entred into an engagement, not to disband, 'till the Proposals they had drawn up for regulating all matters were answered, and marching to New-Market they subscribed thereto, Cromwel putting his Name first, and the rest of the Officers generally followed, so that several Parchment Rolls were filled with their Names. The next day was brought from the General, and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment of eleven Members of the House of Commons, who were counted the chief of the Presbyterian party : namely, Sir W. Waller, Col. Massey, Sir John Clothworthy, Sir Den. Hollis, Col. Long, Mr. Ant. Nicholas, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Glyn, Sir John Maynard, Sir Will. Lewis, and Col. Ed. Harley, charging them with hindring the relief of Ireland, obstructing of Justice, and acting against the Army and Laws of England. The Members declared themselves ready to answer, but the Army wou'd have them secluded from their Seats in Parliament 'till they had brought in their answer : So they withdrew by consent for six Months. After which the Army marched nearer London, and came to Bedford ; the King going to the Earl of Bedford's House near Woburn.

And now some Citizens being for the Presbyterian party in the House, and the Independents for the Army, great divisions happen'd in London ; for the Parliament having chang'd the Militia of the City, which had been established the 4. of May, and put others better affected to the Army in their rooms, the Presbyterian party were extreemly incensed, and two days after a multitude of Citizens and Apprentices coming to

the door of the Commons cried out, That they must grant their Petition before they rose. The House beginning to rise, they took the Speaker, and held him in the Chair, detaining him and the rest of the Members, till they forced an Order from them, That the King should come to London. After which they adjourned to July 30. but then both Speakers were absent, having withdrawn themselves to the Army; so two new Speakers were chosen, the Lord Hunsdon, and Mr. Henry Pelham, Barrister, by whom the following Orders were made that Day. 1. That the King should come to London. 2. That the Militia of London should have power to raise Forces for defence of the City. 3. They should have power to choose a General for those Forces, and that the eleven impeached Members should return to their Seats. The Citizens armed with these Orders, proceed to raise Forces, chusing Massey for their General.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons which had left London, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, That all Acts and Decrees that had passed on July 26. and since, should be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise decreed, That the General with his Army should march to London. Upon whose approach the Citizens who made some semblance of opposition, meeting in Common-Council, and finding it impossible suddenly to raise Forces to oppose them, they sent to the General for a Parification, which by the consent of the Members of Parliament, was granted them on these conditions: 1. That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the eleven impeached Members. 2. To recal their late Declaration. 3. To relinquish their present Militia. 4. To deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of London. 5. To disband all the Forces they had raised. All which, not daring to deny, were instantly ratified, and

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and so Aug. 6. 1647. the Army marched triumphant-
ly thro' London to Westminster, with the two Spea-
kers, and the Members of Parliament, whom they re-
stored to their former Seats, and the eleven secluded
Members left London, some going beyond Sea, and
others with passes to their Houses in the Country:
Both Speakers in the name of the whole Parliament,
gave thanks to the General, and made him comman-
der of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Con-
stable of the Tower of London; a Months pay was
likewise given to the Army for a Gratuity. The next
day Fairfax, Cromwel, Skippon, and the other Com-
manders, marched from Westminster through Lon-
don to the Tower, where some Commanders, and the
Militia were altered; and to curb the City, her Mi-
litia was divided, Westminster and Southwark having
power to command their own Trained Bands. And
thus was the Presbyterian party depressed, and all
things managed by the Independents and the Army.

After this Fairfax marched out of London, quarter-
ing his Soldiers in the Towns and Villages adjacent,
only leaving some Regiments about White-Hall and
the Meuse to guard the Parliament, his head quarters
being at Putney; and the King about the middle of
August, after divers removes, was brought to Hamp-
ton Court, where he seemed not at all restrained but
lived like a Prince in all the Splendor of a Court; all
sorts of People being freely admitted to kiss his hand
and wait upon him; yea his servants from beyond Sea,
even those who had been voted Delinquents, as Ash-
burnham, Barkley, and the rest, were permitted by
the Army to have safe recourse to him, which was ge-
nerally wondered at. About this time a disturbance
arose in the Army, by a Party called Levellers, some
of whom were seized at Ware, and several of the
principal sticklers shot to death, others imprisoned,
and all their Favourers cashiered, 20 being discarded
out of one Troop.

And now Propositions were sent to the King at
Hampton-

Hampton Court, agreed upon by both Houses; But the King refused to comply with them; for Loudon and Lanerick newly came out of Scotland, having privately discoursed with the King sent Letters to the Parliament, requiring, That the King may come to London, and there personally treat with the Parliament about the matters in Controversie: Though not long before they denied it to be just, that before the King had given Satisfaction and Security to the People he should be admitted to London, or to any personal Treaty with the Parliament, and refused to receive him into Scotland, lest he might raise commotions there; but they alledged in their Defence, That the King was taken from Holmby against his will, and without consent of Parliament, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom proper for treating of matters of so great Concernment. But while the Parliament were framing Propositions, they were surpris'd with the News that the King was secretly withdrawn from Hampton Court, Letters coming from Cromwel about Midnight to the Speaker thereof: For Nov. 12. whilst the Commissioners of Parliament, and Coll. Whaley, who commanded the Guard, expected when the King would come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondred at his long stay, at last, about nine a Clock, some going in, missed the King, finding his Cloak, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners to be communicated to the Parliament, wherein having discoursed about Captivity and the sweetness of Liberty, he protested before God, 'He did not withdraw to
' disturb the publick Peace, but for his Safety, against
' which he understood there was a Treasonable Con-
' spiracy, &c. and that if he might be heard with
' Freedom, Honour and Safety, he should instantly
' break through this cloud of retirement, and shew
' himself the Father of his Country.

There was a report at that time, (saith a late Author) and yet continues, that Cromwel privately treat-
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ed with the King ; whereby it was proposed, That if he closed with the Propositions of the Army, Cromwel should be made Earl of Essex, and Knight of the Garter, with a considerable Estate, or else advanced to an higher degree than any other, that is Vicar-General of England, or the like, as his Ancestor Cromwel was by Hen. 8. But the King being Uxorious would do nothing without the Queen's advice, who disliking the Proposal, he being the principal Enemy to their Family, the King sent her word, That tho' he assented to the Armys Proposals to procure Peace, yet it would be easier to take off Cromwel when only a Peer of England, than now he was General and in the head of an Army. These Letters being intercepted by Cromwel, he resolved never to trust the King again, yet doubting he could not manage his Designs so near the Parliament and City as Hampton-court, he privately sent the King word, he was in no safety there, by reason of the hatred the Agitators had to him, and that he would be in more security in the Isle of Wight. Hereupon the King, Nov. 11. 1647. while the Parliament and Scots Commissioners were debating the King's Answer to their propositions, at night made his escape.

The Parliament startled at his departure sent some persons to the Sea Coasts to prevent his going beyond Sea ; and when it was reported he was concealed in London, ordered, ' That if any Man should closely detain the King's person, he should be punished with loss of Estate and Life. But this Cloud soon dissolved, Letters coming from Col. Hammond Governour of the Isle of Wight, that the King was come thither and had delivered himself into his protection, and that he would dispose of him as the Parliament should appoint, who commending Hammond, ordered that he should guard the King with diligence, and wait on him with respect and honour, and that all Necessaries should be sent him.

The K. sent from thence a long Letter to the Parliament,

liament, wherein he desired to come to a Personal Treaty at London, which was also vehemently pressed by the Scots Commissioners: So after a long debate, Nov. 26. they drew up four propositions in the form of Acts, to be signed by the King in the Isle of Wight, and then he should be admitted to a personal Treaty; which were, ' 1. To pass an Act for settling the Militia of the Kingdom. 2. An Act for calling in all Declarations, Orders, and Proclamations, against the Parliament and their Adherents. 3 For incapacitating those Lords who were made after the Great- Seal was carried to Oxford, from sitting in the House of Peers thereby. 4. A power to be given to the two Houses to adjourn as they shall think fit. The Commissioners of Scotland declared against these Bills, however Dec. 24. they were presented to the King, who understanding the mind of the Scots, and the Factions in London, absolutely refused to sign them. Which denial was sharply debated in the House, and it was affirmed, That the King by his denial had denied his protection to the People of England, for which only subjection is due to him: So Jan. 17. a Declaration and Votes passed both Houses of Parliament, ' That they will ' make no further Addresses to the King, nor any other ' are to make applications to him, without their order, ' under penalty of High Treason: That they will receive no more Messages from him, to both or either ' Houses of Parliament, or any other Person. This was seconded by a Declaration of the General and Officers of the Army, which was presented to the House, and thanks returned them for their Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament, in their proceedings concerning the King; and against him or any other that shall partake with him.

The Parliament likewise, by their Declaration, endeavour to appease the minds of the People, many being extremely discontented with these Proceedings, & Tumults & Insurrections daily feared, so that the Parliament, tho' victorious and guarded with a conquer-

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ing Army, no Forces visibly appearing against them, yet were never in more danger, and every man began to foresee Slaughter and War, as Mariners observe a rising Tempest.

- ‘ The threatning Waves in Tracts voluminous
- ‘ Boil up : the Seas by blasts uncertain blown,
- ‘ Betoken many Winds conception.

The King's party, tho' conquered, had great hopes of retrieving their Cause, which seemed also the wish of many called Presbyterians, out of their strong aversion to the Independents ; so that the King tho' set aside and confined within the Isle of Wight, was more formidable this Summer than before, when he was followed by his strongest Armies. The Name of a King had a mighty operation, and the pity of the vulgar gave a greater Majesty to his person : Prince Charles also by his absence, and the Name of Banishment, was more desired of them, and by his Commissions, privately sent from his Father, and Commands under his Name, he was able to raise not only Tumults but Wars.

The Parliament for their security Quartered part of the Army about Westminster, the Meuse, and other places of the City, and some Lords and Commons were chosen, and called a Committee of Safety, and sat at Derby-House, with power to suppress Tumults and Insurrections, and to raise Forces upon occasion ; which were the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick and Manchester, the Lords Say, Wharton and Roberts, and 13 of the H. of Commons, among whom was L. Gen. Cromwel. And it was not long ere they had occasion to make use of their Authority ; for upon Sunday, April 9. 1648. some Apprentices and other loose people playing in Moorfields, set upon a Company of the Trained Bands, and with stones beat the Captain out of the Fields, taking away his Colours, with which they marched in the head of a disorderly Rout, increasing continually by the

the way to Westminster, crying out, They were for King Charles ; but by a Troop of Horse from the Meuse were soon dispersed ; yet running back into the City, and others joining them, they remained all Night in a Body, to the great Terror of the Citizens ; so that the Lord Mayor, who was for the Parliament, escaped privately out of his House and went to the Tower. In the morning Fairfax sent part of his Army into the City, who drove them into Leaden-Hall, taking some Prisoners, and scattered the rest ; so this Tumult was suppressed, for which Service he had the Thanks of the Parliament, and some principal Citizens, and 1000 l. Gratuity to his Souldiers.

May 26. about 300 came out of Surry to Westminster, with a Petition to the Parliament, demanding, That the King should be restored to his former Dignity, and come to Westminster with honour, freedom and safety, to treat personally there about all Controversies : That the Army should presently be Disbanded, and the free People be governed by their known Laws and Statutes. These Petitioners were so earnest for an Answer, that they would not stay till the Parliament could debate it, but set upon the Souldiers that guarded the House ; of whom, some they hurt, and killed one. Whereupon some Horse and Foot were sent from the Meuse, who gave them a feeling Answer, killing some, and scattering the rest, so that they were utterly vanquished. At the same time the Kentish Men were coming with a Petition, and a formidable Army to back it, being enraged at the death of their Companions, who raised a Tumult at Canterbury ; to prevent their Arrival, Gen. Fairfax was sent with seven Regiments to Blackheath.

In the mean time some small Insurrections happened in Suffolk, at Stamford, and in Cornwall, but were suppressed by Col. Wait, Sir Hardress Waller, and others. Sir Thomas Glemham had seized upon Carlisle, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale upon Berwick, and

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fortified it, and the Royalists had taken the strong Castle of Pomfret. To manage these Wars in the North, Col Lambert was left with some Regiments of Fairfax's Army; but the most formidable danger seemed to be in Wales, where Poyer, Powel and Langhorn, three Parliament Collonels, had raised an Army of 8000 Men, by a Comission from P. Charles; but Col. Horton with 3000 ingaged them near Petherstone, and totally routed their whole Army. A great slaughter was made, and 3000 taken Prisoners, equal to the number of the Victors; among whom were 150 Officers, also many Colours, a great quantity of Arms, with all their Cannon. Langhorn and Powel escaped with Poyer into Pembroke Castle. Cromwel himself was about the beginning of May sent into Wales with some Regiments, who coming to Chepstow Castle, resolved to besiege it, but hastning to Pembroke, he left Col. Ewer at Chepstow, who in 15 days took that Castle and killed Kemish, to whom the Governour had treacherously surrendred it.

May 20. Cromwel came to Pembroke, of which Col. Poyer was Commander, who relying on the great strength of the place, refused all conditions, being sensible that time was very precious with the Parliament, who were surrounded with so many difficulties at once; but Cromwel, to whom despair was a stranger, prepared for the Siege, being much furthered in his work from Sea, by the Industry of Sir G. Ayscough, who furnisht him, by the Assistance of a Squadron of Ships, with great Guns and provisiors of all sorts from Bristol. Having taken a survey of the strength of the Castle, he resolves to batter it with his Cannon, because he had notice their Powder and Provisions would soon be spent, and that the Divisions among them might occasion them to yield, and save his men, of whom he was very careful, since so much work lay upon their hands; so he strictly guarded the Trenches to prevent them from coming out, which had the effect he expected, Hunger if not breaking through stone

stone Walls, yet occasioning them to deliver up the Town & Castle, the Soldiers upon quarter, but Langhorn, Poyer, Powel, and some others upon Mercy; which the rest found, but Poyer was shot to Death.

While Cromwel was acting in Wales, Fairfax with his Regiment marched from Black-Heath toward Rochester, and about Gravesend a great number were got together, and among them 20 Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of the County, with several of the Kings old Commanders; but they durst not engage Fairfax, though more numerous, some marching to Maidstone, a few to Rochester, others to Dover, to besiege that Castle, but were soon removed by Coll. Rich and Sir Mich. Livesey. About 2000 were got to Maidstone, and resolved to defend it, which they did with such Obstinacy, that the Valour of Fairfax and his Soldiers, was never tryed so much before, nor a Victory got with greater danger; for after they had broke into the Town with much difficulty, they found a War in every street, and Cannon planted against them, so that they were forced to fight for every corner of it, but at length with the loss of 40 men it was taken, 240 of the Royalists being slain, and 400 Horse and 2000 Arms taken: At the same time another Army of many thousand Kentish-men, coming from Rochester to aid their Friends, when they came near, durst not assist them, but stood and saw Fairfax take the Town. Kent seemed now quiet, when the Lord Goring with the remains of the Kentish-men, being about 2000, march as far as Greenwich, sending to see how the Citizens stood affected, but while he staid, expecting an answer, some Troops of the Army came in sight; upon which Goring and his Company fled, the Horsemen took some booty, and the Kentish-men went home, but the L. Goring with 500 Horse, coming to Greenwich got Boats and passed over into Essex, & the L. Capel with Forces out of Hartfordshire, and Sir Ch. Lucas, with a body of Horse, joined him at Chelmsford, with several of the R. Soldiers, and many

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Londoners who flock'd to them, the Gentlemen followed them crossing the Thames at Gravesend, and at length drove them into Colcheſter, where after near three months Siege, being reduced to that extremity as to live ſeveral Weeks upon Horſe-fleſh, deſpairing of relief, they at length yielded themſelves Priſoners, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſſe being ſhot to Death.

At this time Cromwel marches Northward, to prevent the danger from Scotland, from whence D. Hamilton was marching with a potent Army. Lambert was ſent before to ſuppreſs Glemham and Langdale, who with their Forces being about 3000 retired into Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, and joining with the Scots, fell upon Lambert at Appleby, forcing him to retire out of the Town. Cromwel having received all neceſſary ſupplies from the Parliament, came and joined him, and obſerved the motions of D. Hamilton, being both but 8600 men, againſt the Scots and Engliſh Army of 21000, who were marched into England as far as Preſton in Lancaſhire, where Cromwel reſolved to fight them, his Forlorn ingaging them firſt with 200 Horſe and 400 Foot, and he himſelf leading up the main body in the beſt poſture the Place would admit, being a dirty Lane, and inconvenient for Horſe, where after 4 hours diſpute he put them to the rout, whom the Conquerors purſued through Preſton, and having cleared the Streets, followed them as far as Warrington, about 20 Miles, killing many in the Chace, and taking Lieut. Gen. Bailly Priſoner, with great part of the Scots Army, granting them only Quarter for their Lives. Three thouſand Scots were ſlain, and 10000 taken Priſoners, with above 100 Colours and all their Baggage. Duke Hamilton finding the Service too warm, retreats over the Bridge with a good party of Horſe and Foot, but Cromwel ordered his men to fall in among them pell-mell, with their Swords drawn; at which deſperate courage the Scots being amazed, betook themſelves to flight, and the

the Duke with a Body of Horse got to Uxeter, where he was taken Prisoner by the Lord Grey, and 3000 Horse with him; Langdale was also taken by a Parliament Captain.

Conspiracies by Land, tho' over the whole Kingdom, seemed not enough, but the Sea likewise revolted from the Parliament; divers of the chief Ships in the Royal Navy, in June 1648. set the Vice-Admiral Rainsborough ashore, declaring they would serve the King and P. Charles, now coming from Holland with twenty sail of Ships, and two thousand men. The Parliaments Vice Admiral joined with them, the D. of York, who had made his escape from London, being also aboard. At which the Parliament being disturbed sent to the E. of Warwick to command the remaining Navy, which he readily undertook; but his Brother, though no Soldier, by Commission from the Prince, assembled 500 Horse and Foot about Kingstone Heath, depending on the affections of the Citizens, having with him the D. of Buckingham, his Brother, L. Francis Villiers and the E. of Peterborough, but Sir Mich. Livesey, and others, soon dispersed them. The L. Francis Villiers was slain, and the L. Holland flying with the remainder of his Horse to St. Needs, was subdued; Dalbeir, and some other Gentlemen slain, and himself taken prisoner. At the same time Rosseter obtained a Victory over 1000 Horse, who were pillaging the Country out of Pomfret Castle.

In August 1648. Warwick was with a good Fleet in the River of Thames, when P. Charles with 20 stout Men of War came up the River, and commanded him to take down his Flag, and yield Obedience to him as chief Admiral by the Kings Commission. Warwick refused, yet declined fighting in that narrow Channel, expecting to be joined by the Portsmouth Fleet, commanded by Sir G. Ayscough, which the Royalists reported was revolted also; but tho' most of the Mariners were inclin'd to the Prince, yet Sir George by his prudent Managery confirmed them in their obedience

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obedience to the Parliament, and sailing by P. Charles in the night, brought all his Ships safe to the E. of Warwick, who now resolv'd to ingage the Prince, but finding he was gone back to Holland for want of Provisions, he followed him with the whole Fleet to Gorree upon that Coast.

Cromwel, after he had given that great defeat to Hamilton, following his Victory, marches toward Scotland to assist Argile and Levens, against the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick, and to give them an account what was become of Hamilton; but upon his approach, they withdraw their Forces back into Scotland, and Cromwel in his way reduced Berwick and Carlisle. Before he enter'd Scotland, he Rendevouz'd his Army on the Banks of the Tweed, and caused Proclamation to be made at the head of every Regiment, That no Man upon pain of death, should take from the Scots either Cattle or Goods, without Order. He then marches directly toward Edinburgh, to consult about the Affairs of both Kingdoms; many of the Scots Nobility and Gentry were sent from the Committee of Estates to meet him, who after congratulatory Orations, conducted him to Edinburgh, where Argile, Levens and other Lords, treated him and the rest of the English Commanders, with a magnificent Banquet in the Castle. Thanks were given by the Ministers to Cromwel, who was by them stiled, The Preserver of Scotland under God; many of these having denounced the Wrath of God against that Army of Hamilton, which by the Success they now thought fulfill'd. Such also was the Testimony of the Committee of Estates, written to the English Parliament concerning Cromwel. Presently after the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick were disbanded, and all others, except 1500 Horse and Foot under the Command of Levens, for settling the Kingdom. It was also decreed by the Committee of Estates, and Assembly of the Kirk, for preservation of Religion, and brotherly love with the English Nation, That no Man who had joined with Hamilton in the late Invasion

- of England, should be chosen for the new Parliament
- which was then called, or into the Assembly of the
- Kirk, as being Enemies to Religion, and both the
- Kingdoms.

A strange and sudden alteration this was, that the English Army, which but a Year before were by the Kirk party of Scotland, called a bundle of Sectaries, and reviled by all manner of opprobrious Names, should be acknowledged by the same Scots to be the Instruments of God, and Vindicators both of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland. And this great change in the Council of Scotland, had been more to be wondered at, if the change that then happened in the English Parliament were not much more surprizing, for who can imagine that Cromwel for vanquishing a Scotch Army, by which the Nation was delivered from Plunder, and many other Mischiefs, should be acknowledged there for the Preserver of Scotland; and that the same Victory of his against the Scots, should please the Presbyterian Scots for Religion sake, and for Religion sake displease the Presbyterians in England. For the Face of the English Parliament was now suddenly changed, and the Votes that had passed the Year before of making no more Addresses to the King were annulled, and they had published a Declaration of the reason of their proceedings. New Addresses were made to the King, with more submission than ever before, the eleven Impeached Members were restored to their Seats, and the Houses debated of treating with the King upon his own security, personally at London, with Honour, Freedom and Safety. But this was not carried; only a Treaty was Voted to be in the Isle of White, and that the King should chuse the place in that Island. In pursuance whereof, the E. of Middlesex and 2 of the H. of Commons, were sent to the King, who answered; That he was very ready to treat of Peace: Upon which five Peers and ten Commoners were chosen and sent to Newport. During this Treaty, the King found all

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kind of respect and observance from the Commissioners: being attended with a Royal Retinue, the D. of Richmond, Marquiss of Hartford, the Earl of Southampton and Lindsey, with a number of other Gentlemen of Quality waiting in his Train; his own two Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to advise him in the Treaty, being likewise allowed him,

While these things were transacting at Westminster, Cromwel having finished matters in Scotland, Oct. 16. 1648. left Edinburgh, being conducted some Miles by Marq. Argile, and other Scotch-Noblemen, who took their Leaves with mutual demonstrations of Kindness, and marching toward Carlisle, when he came into Yorkshire, he was desired by the Committee to reduce the Castles of Scarborough and Pomfret in his way; the last of which was defended by Coll. John Maurice, not by the strength of the Place, but the Valour of the Defendants: The Garrison consisted of 400 Foot, and 130 Horse, all daring Fellows, who daily performed some notable Exploit by their Sallies, as one time by siezing Sir Arthur Ingram with a Troop of Horse, and obliging him to pay 1500 pounds to obtain his Liberty. Soon after they took Captain Clayton, and most of his Troop, and brought into the Castle 200 Head of Cattle, and many Horses, tho' Sir Henry Chokmly at that time beleagured it to keep them in. One Morning before day 40 Horse sallied out, and speeding to Doncaster, where Coll. Rainsborough, who had a Commission to command in the Siege in chief, then Quartered, three of them went into the Town, and inquired for Coll. Rainsborough's Quarters, to which being directed, they pretending to deliver him Letters from Cromwel, the Collonel little suspecting the business, opens the door to receive the Letters, when one of them instantly stabbed him to the Heart, and though his Forces guarded the Town, yet they got back into the Castle at midnight. To reduce this place, Cromwel having settled the Northern Countries, orders the Siege to be streightned, leaving

a strong party under Lamberr, to prevent their ranging abroad, and in a while it was surrendered.

Cromwel marches up to London and takes his place in Parliament, who in his Absence had recalled their Vote of Non-Addresses, and were treating with the King at Newport: But while this Treaty proceeded, and some Months were spent in Debates, Concessions and Denials, another sudden Alteration happened, which threw the King from the height of Honour to the lowest condition. For some fearing they might be in Danger if the King were restored to his Throne, contrived to take him away quite, while others were as earnest for re-advancing him; so that things were brought to no Issue before Cromwel's return, who had now the Thanks of the House given him by the Speaker, for his Prudent Conduct of Affairs in Scotland. At the same time several Petitions were presented to the Parliament, and some to General Fairfax, that whoever had offended against the Common wealth, no Persons excepted, might be brought to speedy Justice; that the same fault may have the same punishment in the Person of King or Lord, as in the Person of the poorest Commoner: That such as speak or act on the Kings behalf, till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood, be proceeded against as Traytors, &c.

The first Petition of this kind was presented to the Parliament Sept. 11. the Title was, ' To the most Honourable the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, The Humble Petition of many thousands of well effected Men in the Cities of London and Westminster, in the Burrough of Southwark, and the neighbouring Villages Inhabitants. This Petition which broke the Ice, was in a Month followed by several others, from divers Counties in England, and from several Regiments of the Army, at Oxford and Leicester, from many Commanders in the Army, from Iretons and Ingolsby Regiment; the design of all being the same, ' That Justice might

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be done on the chief Authors of so much Bloodshed in England, and that those who had been raisers of this second War, and were now in the Parliaments custody, Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Goring, and the rest, might be punish'd, and especially the King himself, &c. These Petitions were daily presented to the Parliament during the Treaty, and by them laid aside; but at last their desires prevailed, especially after the Remonstrance of Fairfax, Cromwel, and the General Council of Officers at St. Albans, of Nov. 11. 1648.

At the same time Cromwel sent Coll. Ewer to the Isle of White, to take the King out of the Custody of Coll. Hammond at Newport, and to confine him to Hurst Castle till further Order, and this without consent of the Parliament; and thus the Treaty was violently broken off, though the House of Lords Voted, That the Kings Concessions were a sufficient ground of Peace, and the major part of the Commons did the same. But Cromwel and the Army being now come to London, resolve to hinder the same, and discharge the Trained Bands from guarding the Parliament, Colonel Prides and Riches Regiments supplying their Rooms, by whom above forty Members of the House of COMMONS, as they were coming to the House, were seized and made Prisoners. Nay further they accuse Major General Brown, and above Ninety Members, for inviting the SCOTS into England the last Summer, and therefore desired that they might be excluded the House, which being done, and the House new modelled, they voted, 'That no Message be received from the King upon pain of High Treason: That Fairfax and the Army take care of the KING, and that the Council of War draw a Charge against him. Dec. 13. 1648. The Petition was brought from Hurst Castle to Windsor, the House of Commons declare the Oaths of Fidelity and Allegiance to be void, and that it is



for the King to levy War against the Common-wealth. But the Lords deny that the King can commit any Treason against the Common-wealth, and reject the Ordinance for his Trial by a new Tribunal, which they had erected to consist of 150 Commissioners, 100 whereof were of the Lords House, the rest Officers of the Army, and some few Citizens. And the Commons further declare, ' That the People under Gods ' are the original of all just power, and that the Com- ' mons of England being the Peoples Representative ' have the Supream Authority, and what they Enact ' has the force of a Law, tho' the House of Lords do ' not consent thereto. Upon these and several other Political Principles, they proceed to Try, Judge, condemn and Execute the King before his own Palace at Whitehall, Jan. 30. 1648.

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But having already published a Book, called, The Wars of England, Scotland and Ireland, wherein is an exact account of the King's Tryal, with the Reasons he would have offered against the pretended Jurisdiction of their Court of Justice, and his last Speech at the time of his Suffering, I shall refer the Reader to that, and wholly omit it here,

This fatal blow being given, the remainder of the House of Commons and the Army made it evident, that they were not only for cutting off the King, but Kingship it self, and thereupon the House Voted, That Kingly Government is unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous, and that whereas several pretences might be made to the Crown, that any Person who should proclaim Charles Stewart, Son of the late King, or any other King of England, should suffer as in case of High Treason. And soon after the House of Lords was likewise Voted useless and dangerous; at which the Lords were so highly incensed, that a Declaration was published in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of England, against the proceedings of the Commons. And in defence of all Votes, Acts, and Orders to the contrary, Charles the Second was proclaimed King, in the Name of all the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdom: But they will proceed, assuming new Ensigns of Sovereignty, and cancelling the old, causing all new Writs, Commissions &c. to issue out under a new Stile and Title, that is the Keepers of the Liberties of England by the Authority of Parliament, causing the old great Seal to be broken, and a new one made with this inscription, the first year of Freedom, by Gods blessing restored. And soon after they pulled down the Kings Arms in all Places, and his Statue at Guild-Hall, and the Royal Exchange. A Council of State was constituted of Forty, and Bradshaw made President, the Council of Adjutors of the Army, who had been instrumental in the late Revolutions, was now dissolved, who soon after petitioned the Lord Fairfax; but

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those that subscribed it were by a Council of War ordered to ride with their Faces toward the Horses Tail before their Regiments, with their Crimes on their Breasts, to have their Swords broken over their heads, and to be cashier'd the Army; which provoked their fellow Soldiers, so that a while after, the Army Rendezouzing at Ware, several Regiments, in pursuance of the former Petitions (wherein they complain of erecting illegal Courts of Justice, and Trying the Free People of England by Martial Law, with divers other grievances) wore white Colours in their Hats, to distinguish themselves, among whom was Cromwells own Regiment of Horse, who having notice of it ordered two other Regiments from Remote Quarters to be there who knew nothing of the Intreague, and being all drawn up in Batalia, Cromwel with a frowning Countenance rides round, and suddenly commands those two Regiments to surround a Regiment of Foot and then calls four Men by their Names out of the Body, and with his own hands put them in custody of the Marshal, instantly summoning a Council of War, while their Adherents secretly put their white Colours in their Pockets, and were astonished at the action: These four were tryed and found guilty, but had the favour to cast Lots for their Lives, whereupon the two principal Mutineers escaped, and the two ignorant Fellows were shot to Death upon the place in the View of the whole Army. These now had the Name of Levellers given them, and one Lockier for promoting a Paper, called, The Ingagement and Agreement of the People, &c. was shot to Death in St. Pauls Church-yard, and his Funeral was attended by above a 1000 of the Lilburnian Faction, all wearing black and Sea-green Ribbons. The Army was now in a violent Ferment, and even ready to destroy one another, which humour was cherished by John Lilburn, not without Encouragement from the Royal Party, who from their Divisions hoped to reap Advantage.

in pursuance hereof Coll. Scroops Regiment of Horse
 dismissed their Officers at Salisbury, and with Colours
 flying marched to join Harrisons, Iretons, and Skip-
 tons-Regiments, who by the Contrivance of the Agi-
 tators, were all engaged in the same Designs. This
 defection seemed of dangerous Consequence, Gen.
 Fairfax, and Cromwel with his own Regiment march-
 ed to Alton, and had Advice the Mutineers were gone
 to Abington, after whom Cromwel made such haste
 that in one day he marched forty Miles, and having
 met with them, he politickly proposed a Treaty be-
 fore Harrisons Regiment should join them, wherein
 all Parties should receive Satisfaction, and that either
 of them should keep at ten Miles distance; upon
 which the Levellers went to Burford, and being oppo-
 sed by the Soldiery at New-bridge, to prevent Quar-
 rels they went a little lower, not doubting but they
 should all join upon Treaty, and to put most of their
 Horses to Grass, being in all 900, consisting of twelve
 of the best Troops in the Army, and leaving a Guard
 of 60 Men; some of their Companions, who were
 brought over to Cromwel, giving Intelligence of their
 posture, Coll. Reynolds about Midnight rusht into
 their Quarters, they little expecting such rough treat-
 ment; and seizing the Guards, took the rest either
 asleep or drinking; with 900 Horse and 400 Prisoners,
 whereof Thompson and two more were executed,
 for a Den declaring such Sorrow that he was repri-
 ended at the Place of Execution, which their Fellows
 beheld from the Leads of the Church, and were told,
 that every tenth Man of them should die, but Crom-
 wel proposed the pardoning them, which was agreed
 by w, and they sent to their own Homes. This proved
 the utter suppression of this Faction, and rendered the
 Army wholly devoted to Cromwel
 About this time another illegal High Court of Jus-
 tice was erected, wherein D. Hamilton, the E. of Hol-
 land, L. Capel, and L. Goring, were brought to their
 trials, the three first were condemned and beheaded

at the Palace-yard in Westminster, and a Proclamation was published, declaring the People of England to be a Free State; Alderman Reynoldson was commanded to proclaim it in the City; which he refusing, was committed to the Tower, and a new Lord Mayor chosen by a Common-Hall; who attended with several other Aldermen of the same Temple readily proclaimed the Edicts of this new Republic in several places in the City.

England being thus subjected to the power of the House of Commons and the Army, and Scotland now yet ripe for invasion, and the Nation full of Souldiers who having long led a Military Life could hardly be reduced to their former Employments: Our new State-men, to prevent ill Humours, resolved to make them serve their Country in the Reduction of Ireland; that Kingdom, except Dublin and London-derry, being in possession of the Irish, and they unable to hold out without speedy assistance from England. This Rebellion the most barbarous and bloody that ever happened, acted by Devils in humane shape, rather than men, butchering 200000 Protestants in 8 weeks space without the least provocation given, or without sparing Age or Sex, was perpetrated, Oct. 23. 1641. and tho' contrived so secretly, and acted so furiously, yet was Dublin wonderfully preserved to be a Refuge to those poor Protestants who escaped the Rage of the bloody Persecutors. Many of them fled to England but found little Relief; for here all things seemed to forebode the re-acting the same Tragedy, yet in the midst of the differences between the King and Parliament, it was agreed to send some Regiments thither if possible, to hinder the progress of those Assassins: but this relief was so small that it had no effect, for the King finding the Parliament prevail against him recalled those Troops from Ireland, many of the Rebels coming along with them to his Assistance so that this Kingdom lay more exposed to these bloody

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volves than ever, and thus they continued for some years.

But this new state having renounced Monarchy and Episcopacy, resolve now to recover Ireland, and send an Army thither. The Marquis of Ormond, was made L. Lieutenant by the late King, and the Rebels had made a confederacy among themselves, and upon condition to have the free Exercise of their Religion and other ample Priviledges, which the necessity of Affairs obliged him to yield to, they joined their Forces to his, being also assisted by a number of others, raised by the Earls of Castlehaven, Clanrickard, and the Lord Inchequin, so that they were the greatest united strength in that Kingdom. But the Confederates having broken their Articles with the Lieutenant, and being ready to besiege Dublin, which was not able to defend, rather then it should fall into the hands of the Irish Papists, he surrendered it to Sir William Jones for the Parliament, and came over to the King, (who was then carried from one place to another by the Army,) and from thence he went over to Charles then at Paris. The Confederates surprized the great Preparations from England, sent Letters to the Prince, to send back the Marquis of Ormond, with an absolute Promise to the King, to obey his Lieutenant. At their Request he returned into Ireland, about a Year before Cromwel came over, and with their united Forces they had reduced the whole Country, except London-derry, commanded by Sir John Coote, and Dublin the principal City, wherein Sir William Jones with no great strength, and who was conscious of the Fidelity of his own Men that often deserted to the other party.

The Irish Confederates with 22000 Men, lay under the very Walls of Dublin, and sent divers threatening Summons requiring a speedy Surrender, but they had no effect upon the valiant Governor Jones; who yet notwithstanding of his great danger, sent many earnest Messengers to the Parliament of England to aid him with all

speed, with Men and Ammunition, or else all would be lost; who knowing the difficulties of his condition, hasten their assistance, sending thither Iretons, Scroopes, Hortons, and Lamberts Regiments of Horse; with Hewsons, Deans, Ewers and Cooks Regiments of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoons, all old tried Soldiers that feared no Enemy, and led by Victorious Commanders; with some other Regiments new-Listed sufficient to effect the Business. Nothing was now wanting but a General to command this gallant Army, and the Parliament being sensible of Cromwel's Conduct desired him to accept it; which he readily did, declaring, 'That he did not doubt but God would use him as an Instrument to execute his Vengeance upon the bloody Irish; with which answer the Parliament were so pleased, that they gave him a Commission to be General of all their Forces, and Lord Governour both of the Civil and Military Affairs in Ireland, and Coll. Jones was made Lieut. General of the Horse. After which they march to Milford in Wales, and July 10. 1649. Cromwel set forward from London in a Coach and six Horses, attended with many of the House of Commons, Council of State and principal Officers of the Army, with a Life-guard of 80 who had been lately Commanders, gallantly accompanied. In this state he marched to Brainford where these Gentlemen took their leaves, wishing him happy Success; From thence he rides Post to Bristol to put his Men and Artillery into the Transport-Ships, and then goes into Wales, having sent Reynolds Regiment of Horse, and Venables, and Monks Regiments of Foot, before from Chester, who arrived at Dublin to the great Joy of the Inhabitants, being about 3000 in all, who were careful to recover them from the fatigues of the Sea, in hopes by their means to recover their Liberties.

And in this they were not mistaken, for Coll. Jones much animated with these Recruits, resolved to attack the Besiegers, and August 2. when the Irish, with

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A strong party of Horse and Foot, marched with much assurance to Baginbun field, Eastward from the City towards the Sea, from thence to run their Trenches towards the works of the City, to prevent the landing of any more supplies from England. The besieged to prevent them, with 1200 Horse and 4000 Foot, fell upon the Enemies new Works, and routed their Horse at the first encounter, most of the Foot being also either kill'd or wounded, consisting of 1500, which so encouraged the English that they pursued their Victory to Rathmines, where the Marquis of Ormond with his whole Army of 19000 Men were Incamped, who hearing of it, wished they would come, that he might have some sport with them; he soon had his wish, but the sport was somewhat rude, for in a short time his Army was utterly routed, 4000 being slain upon the spot, & in the pursuit; & 2517 prisoners taken, most Persons of Quality, with the Marquesses own Brother, all their Cannon and Ammunition, with a wealthy Camp became the reward of the conquering Soldiers, who made themselves Gentlemen with the Spoils of the vanquished; not above twenty of the English being slain in this great action. The Marquis perceiving all was lost, fled with a considerable party to Kilkenny, and thence to Drogheda, whither Coll. Jones with some Horse marched with all speed, in hopes that the news of this defeat might cause them to surrender, but when he heard that Ormond with 2000 Horse, was come to reinforce it, he went back, while the Marquis fortifies Dundalk, Trim, and some other places near Tredagh, hoping to preserve them by the strength of his Troops, and to have an Army ready before Cromwel's Arrival: But he having Intelligence of this great Victory, being then at Milford Haven in Wales, instantly sailed thence with the Van of his Army in 32 Transport Ships, and rejoin'd the main Body, in 42 more, Hugh Peters with 20 sail following them, who all soon arrived at Dublin, and were received with all joy and satisfaction.

on, especially the new Lord Governour Cromwel whom the People crowd'd to behold, who observing their zeal and kindness, putting off his Hat, spoke them to this effect, ' That as God had brought him thither in Safety, so he doubted not but by divine assistance, to restore them to all their Just Rights, Liberties and Properties, and that all those whose hearts and affections were real for carrying on this great work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish and their Confederates, and that were for propagating the Gospel of Christ, the establishing Truth and Peace, and restoring this bleeding Nation to its former Happiness and Tranquility, should find Favour and Protection from the Parliament of England and himself, and receive such Gratuities as were suitable to their Merits. This Speech was received with the Acclamations of the People, many of whom declared, That they would live and die with him.

The Army being all landed and refreshed, Cromwel publishes a Proclamation against Swearing, Cursing, and Drunkenness, under severe penalties, and having settled matters in Dublin, he musters his Army which then consisted of 15000 Horse and Foot well accounted, out of whom he made a Detachment of about 10000, with whom and a fine Train of Artillery he marches to Drogheda, commanded by Sir Arthur Ashton, formerly Governour of Reading and Oxford, an expert and valiant Soldier, the Garrison consisting in 3000 Horse and Foot, most English. After surrounding the Town, which was slighted, Cromwel prepares to Besiege it; Sir G. Ayscough and his Squadron blocking it up by Sea; the white Flag was taken down, the red denouncing blood and destruction, being display'd in its stead, which yet did not much discourage the Besieged, who expected Relief from Ormond, had absolutely determined to Conquer or dye. So Cromwel without making Trenches or Ditches raised a strong battery of Cannon against

which beat down a Church Steeple, and a Tower, on the South side of the Town, and upon throwing two or three hundred Bails more, the corner Tower between the South-East Wall was levelled, and such a breach made, that three Regiments of Foot entred, it not being large enough for the Horse; but met with such furious opposition from the Besieged, that they forced them back faster than they came on; which Cromwel observing from the Battery, he with a fresh supply of Col. Ewers Foot, enters in Person into the Town; whose presence so encouraged the Souldiers that nothing was able to stand before them, so that having secured the Town, to revenge their late reverse, they cut off all they met with, yet Ashtons Souldiers desperately opposed them at every corner, and when not able to defend the streets, retreated to the Church Steeples and other securities, but the Sailants pursued them with the utmost rage, and with gunpowder blew up 100 of them, who were got into St. Peters Steeple; only one escaping, who by the fall broke his Leg, and had Quarter given him; others refusing to yield upon Summons, were kept from Victuals till forced to surrender; most of the officers with every tenth Souldier, was put to the sword, and the rest sent to Barbadoes. Sir Ar. Ashton was slain. Cromwel by these severe executions designed to terrifie other places from making opposition, which had such effect, that in a short time he wholly Conquered the Kingdom. And thus was this long Garrison reduced and plundered in seven days, which the Irish were three years in taking. Dundalk and Trim expecting no better Quarter, the Souldiers deserted them with such precipitation that they left all their Cannon behind fixed upon their Carriages; and the English revolted so fast to the Conqueror, that Ormonds Forces increased very little, so that he durst not engage Cromwel, but endeavoured to hinder them from having provisions. Upon which, the General resolved to march Westward,

ward, and assault Wexford, putting a Garrison into Killinkerrick near Dublin, which had been deserted by the Enemy; with Arkloe Castle, one of the Seats of the Family of Ormond, and several other places which surrendered to him; at length he came before Wexford, and summoned it, but the Governour Col. Synnot politickly treated about Terms, till he was reinforced with 200 Foot, under the Earl of Castlehaven, and then seemed to defie any Attack. Cromwel plants a battery against a Castle at the end of the Town, and had not plaid long upon it, before the Governour surrenders. The Souldiers having possession, and shewing themselves to the Town, affrighted them from the Walls, which they perceiving, in an instant scaled the Walls without much resistance, and entring the Town, cut off all in Arms till they came to the Market place, where the Enemy made a stand, but at length were subdued, and all in Arms put to the Sword.

This Sea-port being taken, which was convenient for Supplies, the Victors march to Rois, another Sea-Town, considerable for strength and trade, on the River Barrow, where a Ship of 7 or 800 Ton might ride by the Wall; the Lords of Ormond, Castlehaven, and Ards were there in person, having brought 1500 men in Boats to reinforce it in sight of the English who could not prevent it: Cromwel summons the Governour M. General Taaff to a rendition by assuring him, 'That since his coming into Ireland he ever avoided the effusion of blood, having been before no place where he did not first offer such Terms as might have preserved them, and he required him to surrender the Town to the Parliament of England. He received no return, till a Battery of 6 or 7 great Cannon playing furiously on the Town mollified the Governour, so that to prevent the danger other places had incurred, he delivered it up 1500 marching away with Bag and Baggage to Kilkenny, but 600 being English joined with Cromwel

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At which time Bandon-bridge, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and other Garrisons declared for the Parliament; and in the North Sir Ch. Coot, and Col. Venables, and L. Broghill, and Col. Hewson in other parts succeeded as well.

Cromwel having taken Ross, by a Bridge of Boats over the River, marched to besiege Dunganon, a strong Fort commanded by Col. Wogan, but having little hope of reducing it quickly, they rise and march to Kilkenny; where the Marquiss of Ormond and L. Inchiqueen declared they would fight, being much stronger than Cromwel, yet upon his approach retreated without action; So Enistoege and Carrick were taken without loss of a man; and the General marches to Waterford (taking Passage Fort by the way) hoping to reduce it before Winter, but it being December and very wet, the Souldiers were put into Winter Quarters till spring. During which, the Irish attempted to regain Passage Fort by a Party from Waterford, but Col. Zankey put them to the rout, killing many, and making 350 Prisoners. At this time Lieut. Gen. Jones dyed of a Fever at Dunganon, and tho' it were Winter, yet Cromwel visited all the Garrisons in Munster, and received great recruits from England, many of his Souldiers and Officers dying by sickness. He put a new Mayor into Kinsale, the former being an Irish Papist. In February, Cromwel marches with 3000 of his men out of Youghal to enlarge their Quarters, and takes in Kilkenny Castle near Limerick, with Clogen-house and Rogil Castle, and fording the River Teweir with much danger, comes to Feathered, where one Butler was Governor of the Garrison, and about ten at Night summons him by a Trumpet, which was disregarded at first, but fearing a storm it was surrendered upon condition they should march out with their Arms. From hence after being refreshed, they march to Callyne, about six miles off Kilkenny, which had three Castles in the Town, and were stormed and taken one after another,

ther, and all in Arms put to the Sword, which so frightened them that defended a House near the Town that they desired Liberty to go to Kilkenny, which was granted. The Souldiers well furnished with provisions here returned to Feathered; taking the Castles of Knockover and Bullyward by the way, Kilkerron, Arsermon, Cober, and Drundum, places of good strength running the same Fate; so there remained nothing unconquered but Kilkenny, Gallo way, Clonmell, Waterford and Limerick.

These were places of considerable strength, but Cromwel resolves to attack Kilkenny first, and having sent for more Forces, came to the Town of Gowran populous and fortified with a strong Castle, but the Governour refusing his Summons, was forced to surrender upon hard Terms, the Souldiers to have their Lives, and the Officers to be at discretion: Hammond the Governour, his Major and all his other Commission Officers were shot to death, and the Popish Chaplain hanged. Cromwel next proceeds to Kilkenny, which was full of Officers and Souldiers from other places, and the Governour Sir Walt. Butler refusing to surrender, the Lord Governour caused the Cannon to play, which had not thrown 100 shot ere a breach was made, and Col. Ewers with 1000 Foot who at first repulsed, gained the Irish Town, and the Suburbs on the other side the River, which caused the Governour to Treat, since he could not hope for relief; and the Garrison in Cautnel Castle, to whom he had sent to assist him, desired Passes to go beyond Sea: so the Capitulation was quickly finished, and that considerable City of Kilkenny, which had been the Seat of the Supreme Council, was reduced in six days time.

The Marquis of Ormond, and other chief Commanders, observing the unsuccessfulness of their designs, consulted with the Gentlemen of Westmeath at Baltemore, how to manage Affairs better; some were for an accommodation with the English, but others

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others doubting whether they might obtain Pardon on good terms, it was concluded to do the greatest mischief that they could to the English in their Quarters, until they could have an opportunity to escape out of the Country.

Cromwel after this Besieges Clonmel, a strong Garrison, wherein were 120 Horse and Foot : During which Col. Reynolds and Hewson besiege Trim, and the Lord Broghill defeats the Bishop of Ross, who with 5000 designed to relieve Clonmel, killing 700, making 20 Officers, and the Bishop himself, with the Standard of the Church of Munster, and carrying him to a Castle defended by the Bishops Forces, hanged him before the Walls in their sight, which so terrified them that they surrendred. These Successes encouraged the Besiegers of Clonmel, wherein were many gallant Souldiers and Commanders, and great unanimity, but Cromwel battering it with his Cannon, opened a Breach whereat the Souldiers entered, yet were repulsed with the utmost fury, so that the Success was doubtful for four hours, and a great carnage made, till the Irish are forced to betake themselves to flight, whom the victorious Souldiers pursued with revengeful minds, and made a dreadful Slaughter. Thus was this considerable place reduced, tho' with greater loss than ordinary to the English, wherein they found the stoutest Enemy they ever met in Ireland.

Cromwel having in ten Months performed more than any Prince before was able to do in ten years, in subduing an obstinate bloody Enemy that despairing of Pardon, fought with the greatest animosity; and there now remaining unreduced only Limerick, Waterford, and some few inconsiderable Garrisons, to which service Ireton was appointed, whom the Lord Governor made Lord Deputy : He takes his leave of Ireland, and after a stormy passage lands at Bristol, where he was received with acclamations, and the discharging of the Cannon, and hastens thence to London,

being

being met at Hounslow by Gen. Fairfax, several Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, with multitudes of Spectators, who came to see him of whom they had heard such great matters; where after mutual congratulations he proceeds, and is saluted near Hyde Park with some field-pieces, and Volleys of small shot by Col. Barksteads Regiment drawn up in the High-way for that purpose, and after conducted to the Cock-pit near St. James's prepared for his Reception, where he is visited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and other persons of Quality, all expressing the sense of their Obligations. Soon after he took his place in Parliament, and received the Thanks of the House from the Speaker, and then gave them a full account of the present condition of Ireland.

At this time Virginia and the Caribbee Islands revolt from the Parliament, and declare for the Monarchy and Liturgy, who thereupon prohibit all Nations to Trade with them, and in a few Months they are wholly subdued by a Fleet sent thither under Sir G. Ayscough. P. Rupert infests the English Coasts from Scilly, Jersey, Ireland and France, with the States revolted Ships, to the great loss of the Merchants; so a Fleet well equipt is set forth against him, who block him up in Kinsale, which being taken by Cromwel, they were forced to hasten away, leaving three Ships behind, and sailed to Lisbon, being protected by the King of Portugal, which caused a difference between that King and this Republick. May 1642. Dr. Dorislaus who drew up the charge against K. Charles I. being sent Envoy to the States of Holland, was murdered at the Hague by Persons in disguise that broke into his Lodgings, and afterwards made their escape. And Mr. Ant. Ascham, the English Agent in Spain, was stabb'd in his Inn in his way to Madrid, and the Murderers taking Sanctuary in a Church, the K. of Spain by all his Authority could not bring them to Justice.

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But the greatest danger to this new Common wealth tho' victorious in Ireland seemed to be from Scotland, for King Charles II. being in the Isle of Jersev, and having notice of the great Factions and differences in that Kingdom between the Covenanters and the Royalists, he gives a Commission to the Marquis of Montross (who in 1645 was so successful that the whole Kingdom of Scotland may be said to have been won and lost in one Month) by which Commission he was to raise Forces in Holland, and other parts, to abate the power of the Covenanters, so that the King might be able to treat with them upon better terms. He in a short time sends some Forces into the Isles of Orkney and others under Sir James Montgomery, to the North of Scotland. These the Committee of Estates resolve to oppose, tho' raised for the Kings service, and send Propositions to Jersev, which being granted they enter into a Treaty to restore him to that Kingdom, the substance whereof was, ' That he would ' sign the solemn League and Covenant, and oblige ' all persons to take it: To confirm all Acts of Parliament in the two last Sessions, to have no Negative ' voice in their Parliament, and to appoint some place ' about Holland to treat in. The King promised on the word of a Prince to perform them, and Breda, a Town in Holland belonging to the Pr. of Orange, was the place appointed, where the Scots Commissioners meet him, and the Treaty in a short time was fully concluded, wherein one Article was, ' That the Mar- ' quis of Montross and his Adherents be prohibited ' access into that Kingdom. During his Treaty, Montross being Commissioned by the King, fearing he should have an express Command to desist, and he banished his Country, landed at Orkney, and in the North, with Supplies of men and money, against whom the Parliament, then sitting, send an Army of 7000 Foot, and three Troops of Horse, who defeat his Forces, being 1200, of whom 200 were slain, and the rest taken except 100 who escaped, Montross being

being three or four days in the open Fields without meat or drink with only one man, discovered himself to the L. Aston; but the promised reward or fear of concealing him caused this Lord to send him to Edinburgh, where he was condemned and hanged upon a Gallows thirty foot high, and Sir John Urrey, Sir Fr. Hay, Col. Sybald, and Col. Spotswood were beheaded, the last confessing he was an actor in the death of Dr. Dorisslaus. The King was startled at these Proceedings, but the Scots Commissioners assured him they were all designed to promote his Interest; so finding it could not be redressed he was forced to conceal his resentments, and the Treaty being finished, the King prepared for his Voyage to Scotland.

The Parliament of England having Intelligence of these proceedings, it was debated whether the War which was inevitable between them, should be Offensive or Defensive; at length, being sensible what desolations they brought along with them when they came in as Friends, and then as Enemies in D. Hamiltons Invasion, it was concluded to make Scotland the seat of War, so they Order the Army to march Northward, but Gen. Fairfax and others being dissatisfied about the obligation of the National Covenant between both Kingdoms, which he conceived would not permit us to War on Scotland, desired to be excused, and deliver up his Commission, which was at first a little startling; but the Parliament soon found another General of whose valour and conduct they had large experience, which was Cromwel, who accepted the Charge, and had a Commission to be General of all the Forces that now were or hereafter should be raised by the Common-wealth of England, and all the Commissions formerly granted to Sir Tho. Fairfax were made void.

June 28. 1650. Cromwel with his Army marched toward Scotland, and was received at York by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with great respect: The

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report of his coming, surprized the Committee of Estates, who sent a Letter to the Parliament, 'That they admired the English should advance toward them, and that many of their Ships were seized contrary to the Act of Pacification, which allowed three Months warning, and that the Forces they had raised, were only in their own defence, desiring to know whether those of the English were designed to Guard their own Borders or to invade Scotland. The Parliament by their Declaration, shew the reasons of their proceedings, and among others, ' That the Scots endeavour to seduce the People of the Common-wealth of England from their affection and duty to the Parliament, and to promote the Interest of the late King under pretence of the Covenant, and though they could claim no authority or dominion over us, yet in Scotland they proclaimed Charles Stewart to be King of England and Ireland, and promised to assist him against the Common-wealth; and had declared against the English Parliament and Army, ranking them with Malignants and Papists. These with many others, were such intolerable provocations, and no satisfaction being to be had but by the Sword, the Parliament resolve to vindicate the Nations honour, and to secure it from the like Insolences for the future.

The Army likewise publish a Declaration, wherein taking notice of the practices of some in that Kingdom, who endeavoured by unjust reproaches and false slanders, to make the Army odious, and render them rather Monsters than Men, they to clear themselves, desire them to remember what their behaviour was when they were there before, or what wrong or injury was then done either to the Persons, Goods, or Houses of any, and therefore they had no reason by false reports to affright the People from their Habitations. Further assuring all persons who were not active against the Parliament, that they

they should not have the least injury done them, either in Body or Goods, but upon complaint should have present redress, and that they might securely continue in their Habitations,

Copies of these Declarations were given to the Country People at Berwick-market, and others sent into Scotland which had good effect. After which Cromwel marches from York to North-Alierton, and thence to Newcastle, where he was nobly treated by Sir Arthur Haslerig the Governour, and after imploring the blessing of Heaven, and having provided for future supplies, he posts to Berwick, and July 20. 1650. rendezvouzed his Army upon Hagerstone Moor, 4 miles from thence; where appeared a gallant Body of 5415 Horse with valiant Riders, 10249 Foot, with a Train of Artillery consisting of 690. In all 16345. After which they were quartered on the banks of the River Tweed.

In England John Lilburn about this time was tryed at Guild-hall, a man of a restless and invincible spirit, who is charged with publishing Books, wherein the Parliament are termed Tyrants, Traytors, Conquering Usurpers, &c. and tho' it was generally thought they were of his writing and publishing, yet he made such a subtle defence, that the Jury brought him in not Guilty. Col. Eusebius Andrews being found with a Commission from King Charles II. was condemned by an High Court of Justice, and beheaded at Tower-Hill. And Benson, condemned with him, was executed at Tyburn. At the same time an Insurrection happened in Norfolk, an undisciplined Company roaving about, pretending they designed the abolishing Ropery, the restoring the young King to his Crown, to revenge his Fathers death, and to suppress Heresie and Schism: but 200 Horse being sent from Lyn, and three Troops from the Army, soon dispersed them, 20 of whom of no eminency were hanged. Sir Henry Hyde being sent Ambassador from King Charles to the Grand Seignior at Constantinople. had

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some contest with Sir Tho. Bendish the Parliamen's Ambassador there, so they had a Hearing before the Vizier Bassa, and the Result was, That Sir Tho. Bendish should dispose of Sir H. Hyde, as he thought fit, who sent him to Smyrna, and thence to England, where he was condemned and beheaded before the Royal Exchange in London.

Pr. Rupert and his Fleet lying in the Haven of Lisbon, Blake came before the City with the Parliaments Fleet, and having destroyed several French Privateers, and some rich Sugar Ships of the K. of Portugals, he was forced by storm to go to some other Port; upon which P. Rupert took the opportunity to sail thence with his Fleet to Malaga, where they burnt and spoil'd several Merchant Ships: Blake reduced his Fleet to seven stout nimble Sailors, sending the rest home with their Prizes, and sailed after him to Malaga, but they being gone to Alicant, he followed them, taking in his way a French Ship of 20 Guns, the Roe-buck a revolted Ship; and the Black Prince, another of P. Ruperts Fleet, to avoid being taken ran ashore and blew her self up. Next day 4 more of the Princes Fleet ran ashore at Carthagena, and were off away, the rest

rest making their escape, and so Blake returned again to England.

The Scots had now finish'd the Treaty with Charles 2. who promised to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland for three years, provided that himself might always have three Chaplains of his own election; As also to confirm the Militia in the hands of the Estates for five years, provided it should then return to himself. It was now resolv'd a Message should be sent to invite him to his Kingdom of Scotland, tho' it was oppos'd in the Parliament at Edinburgh and put to the Vote whether any more Addresses should be made to the King, and 32 were for the Negative, but the Affirmatives being the major part the Message was sent with a Protestation, ' That they would assist him with their Lives and Fortunes, to establish him in all his Dominions; yet forbore not to advertise him, they had Testimonies to produce of his transacting by Letters with Montrose (of which they had intercepted three or four) contrary to his promise at Breda; however they were willing to dispense with him for what was pass'd, if he would according to the Articles of Agreement come over into Scotland, and comply with the Parliament and the Kirk.

After which they prepared for his reception, but prohibited D. Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale and Seaforth. with many other persons of Quality, who had constantly attended him in Jersey and Holland, from returning into Scotland. In June, 1650. he left the Hague, and (after a tedious storm, and narrowly escaping some English Ships) landed in the North of Scotland, whither some Lords were sent to receive and accompany him to Edinburgh, being entertained by the way with the acclamations of the people. At Dundee, new propositions from the Parliament and Kirk were sent him, which with some seeming reluctance he signed. The Town of Aberdeen presented him with 1500 pounds, but the Committee of Estates

ent to other places that designed to do the like,
enjoyning them to bring whatever Money and Plate
they had to bestow, into the Treasury which they
would appoint.

While they were in expectation of the Kings arri-
val, the Committee of Estates and Parliament consul-
ed about forming an Army for his Service as they
intended, and an Act was passed for Training every
fourth Man capable to bear Arms, throughout the
Kingdom, and for raising 16000 Foot and 6000 Horse
The Earl of Leven to be General of the Foot, Holborn
Major General, David Leslie Lieut. General of the
Horse, and Montgomery Major General, the Supream
Command being reserved for the King; who arriving
at Edinburgh, was complemented with many Congra-
tulations, and July 15. proclaimed King at the Cross,
and had a strong guard to attend him and observe his
motions. We left Cromwel and his Army upon the
Edge of Scotland, who July 22. 1650. drew them
forth to a Rendezvous upon an Hill within Berwick
Hills, from whence they had a very exact View
of the bordering parts of Scotland where they
were to act their parts; to whom the General made
a short Speech, exhorting them to be faithful and
brave, and then they need not doubt of the
Assistance of Heaven, and encouragement from him-
self: Which they received with Shouts of Approba-
tion. After which he marches into Scotland,
entering in the Field that Night near the Lord
Hardingtons House, where Proclamation was made,
that none upon pain of Death should offer any
Violence to the Persons or Goods of any in Scot-
land not in Arms; and no Souldier should dare
straggle half a Mile from the Army without
special Licence. From hence they marched direct-
ly to D-U-N-B-A-R, where they received some
Provisions from the Ships sent on purpose
to supply them, the People having left their
HABITATIONS and nothing behind them.
Thence

Thence they came to Hadington, 12 Miles from Edinburgh, without opposition or sight of an Enemy: next day hearing the Scots would meet them at Gladsmuir, they endeavoured to possess the Moore before them, but no considerable Party appeared, so M. Genl. Lambert, and Coll. Whaley, with 1400 Horse, were sent as a Van-guard to Musselborough to attempt something upon the Scots, and M. Hains, commanding the Forelorn faced them in less than a Mile of their Trenches. Cromwel with the residue of the Army drew up before Edinburgh, and some Skirmishes happened about possessing King Arthur's Hill, within a Mile of the City, which the English gained, and likewise a Church and other Houses; but the Scots not enduring the shock, that Night the English withdrew and lay close encamped at Musselborough being wearied with constant duty and continual rain. The Scots were within four Miles, intrench'd within a Line which flanked from Edinburgh to Leith, so strong that the English lay still that Day in the rain without Covert, but were encouraged with hope of a sudden Engagement. Next Day the Ground being wet and Provisions scarce, the English resolve to draw to their Quarters at Musselborough; the Scots fell upon their Reer, and put them into disorder, but some bodies of English Horse coming up, beat them to their Trenches: Lambert in this Encounter was run thro' the Arm with a Lance, had his Horse killed under him, was wounded in his Body, taken Prisoner, and rescued. The Scots had several killed, some of Note, and a Lieut. Collonel, a Major, and some Captains taken Prisoners. After which the English marched quietly to Musselborough that Night, but so harassed with dirt, and watching, that they expected the Scots would fall upon them, which they did; for about four next morning 15 Troops of Horse, to the number of 1500 armed with Backs, Breasts, Head-pieces, Pistols, Swords and Lances, commanded by Straughan, came on with such resolution that they beat

eat in the Guards, and disordered a Regiment of Horse, but the English being alarm'd, fell upon them with such Courage, that they routed, pursued, and did execution upon them till within a quarter of a Mile of Edenburgh, taking and killing 200, with several Officers of Quality; Cromwel to discover his Generosity, released the principal Prisoners, and sent them to Edenburgh in his own Coach. which rectifi'd the opinions of many, who by reports were persuad'd he was cruel.

The Army having again spent their Provisions, march'd for a supply to Dunbar, where the Parliament ships constantly attended them with all Necessaries, and then returning to Edenburgh, they understood the Scots were keeping a Solemn Thanksgiving for their Deliverance, supposing they were quite gone and would have come no more, but were much disappointed. The General Assembly sent Cromwel, by David Lesly their General, a Declaration of the state of the Quarrel, which he desired might be published, That considering there must be just Grounds of stumbling from the King's refusing to subscribe the Declaration concerning his former Carriage, and resolutions for the future in reference to the Cause of God, the Enemies and Friends thereof, they do therefore declare, That the Kirk and Kingdom will not own any Malignant Party: their Quarrel or Interest, but that they will fight upon their former principles for the Cause of God and their Kingdom, and as they disclaim all the sin of the King and his House, so they will not own him nor his Interest, any further than he shall disclaim his and his Fathers opposition to the work of God, and the Enemies thereof; and that they would with convenient speed consider of the Papers sent them by Oliver Cromwel. To whom the English Gen. returned this answer. That the Army continued the same they had profess'd themselves to the honest People of Scotland, wishing as well to them as to their own Souls, it being no part of their business

business to hinder them in the worship of God according to their Consciences: And that they should be ready to perform what obligation lay upon them by the Covenant, but that under the pretence of the Covenant mistaken, a King should be taken in by them and imposed on the English. and this called, The Cause of God and of the Kingdom, and this done for the Satisfaction of Gods People in both Nations, as alledged; Together with a disowning of Malignants, although the Head of them be received, who at this very instant hath a party fighting in Ireland, and P. Rupert at Sea upon a malignant account; the French and Irish Ships daily making Depredations upon the English Coasts, and all by vertue of his Commissions; therefore they cannot believe that whilst Malignants were fighting and plotting against them on the one side and the Scots declaring for him on the other, it should not be the espousing a Malignant's Interest or Quarrels. If the state of the Quarrel be thus, and you resolve to fight the Army, you will have opportunity to do that, else what means our abode here: And our Hope is in the Lord.

Having thus stated the Cause of the War in disputing with the Pen, they next resolve to try the force of steel, and fight it out; for August was near done and little action performed save the taking of Collington House and Redhall by storm, and in it the Laird Hamilton, Major Hamilton. and 60 Soldiers, 60 Barrels of Powder, 100 Arms, great store of Meal, Malt, Beer, Wine, and other rich plunder. The body of the English Army removed from Pencland hills, within a mile of the whole Army of the Scots, and both marched in sight of each other, a great Bog between only hindring their Engagement though the Cannon play'd on both Sides. Cromwel drew forth a Forlorn, leading them on in Person, and coming near their Body, one that knew the General fired at him with a Carbine, but timorously, which Cromwel observing,

ed out and told him, 'That if he had been one of
his Soldiers, he would have cashiered him for firing
at such a distance. This action of his was thought
to have more of courage in it than discretion: The
Scots unwilling to engage, returned to their Quarters.
Next day, Aug. 28. the Cannon from the English Camp
was laid upon the Scots, and greatly annoyed them,
which could not provoke them to fight, but still
kept within the protection of their Bog. The English
being in want of Provisions, marched to their old
quarters at Pencland Hills, and from thence, with
much difficulty to Musleborough to recruit, and then
broke off their Forces, quitted their Garrisons, and
marched to Haddington. The Scots attending their
right wing, fell into their Quarters with a resolute
bravery, and were as valiantly repulsed by a Regiment
of Foot commanded by Colonel Fairfax.

Sept. 1. The Scots being advantageously drawn up
at the West end of the Town, the English drew
westward into a fair Champaign Ground, fit for
both Armies to engage in; but after several Hours
expectation of the Scots approach, finding they
would not follow them, but only watched their ad-
vantage, they marched toward Dunbar; the Scots
moved apace after them, and at a pass attempted to
fall upon the Reer, which the English perceiving, fa-
ced about to fight them. Whereupon the Scots
broke off to the Hills, to hinder the English at the
pass at Copper Speith, which they effected, and then
perceived they had the English in Essex's Pound, as
KING CHARLES the First had that General
at a great disadvantage in Cornwall, in 1644. This
pass being a place where ten stout men may obstruct
the passage of forty, thereby to hinder them from
any Relief from Berwick, or perhaps to keep the
English from running away; so confident were they
of Victory, being lately reinforced with three Regi-
ments, and from the Hills that encompassed this sickly
command, looked down on them as their sure Prey.
And

And indeed, the English were Invironed with
manner of apparent Dangers, their Forces were
sened, their Bodies weakened with Fluxes, wa
with Watchings, in want of Drink, always trou
with wet and cold Weather, and much impaired
point of Courage, 2000 at least being disabled
present Service, were sent to Berwick. On the
ther Side the Scots were stout and hearty, in th
own Country, and upon advantageous ground,
double the English in number. they being 6
Horse, and 16000 Foot, and the other but 7
Foot, and 3500 Horse.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers, finding
Army unfit for further Delays, resolved the n
morning, Sept. 3. to force a passage through the S
right Wing, or perish in the attempt, and being
Battalia by break a Day, they fell unanimously up
the Enemy with Horse and Foot, who to hinder
English at a Pass, drew up all the Horse upon th
right Wing, and valiantly received the Onset. Th
word of the English was, The Lord of Hosts, that
the Scots, The Covenant. The English prest forwa
vigorously, and resolved to vanquish or dye. Af
one hours dispute the Scots were wholly routed,
Horseled and left the Foot exposed to Danger, w
were most of them slain or taken Prisoners, the p
suit continuing eight Miles from the Field of Batt
Of the Scots were slain 3000, and 10000 tak
Prisoners, (many desparately wounded) among wh
were 10 Collone's, 12 L. Collonels, 9 Majors,
Captains, 72 Lieutenants, 80 Ensigns, besides Corne
and Quarter-masters, with 200 Colours, 22 Cann
several Field Pieces, and 15000 Arms. Those
Quality taken were the L. Libberton and his Son, t
L. Cromstown, Sir J. Lansdale L. Gen. of the For
and divers others; and the Purse to the Great Seal
Scotland. The Prisoners were so numerous, that
seemed as troublesome to keep as to take them,
the General discharged near 5000 most sick and wound

the rest being about the same number, were con-
 veyed to Berwick by four Troops of Coll. Hackers
 Gen. Lesley escaped to Edinburgh by ten a
 clock that morning the fight happened, and carried
 News of his own defeat to his Masters, which so
 inted them, that Edinburgh was deserted by its
 rison, and Leith resolved to receive the Conque-
 , because they could not keep them out.

Sept. 7. Four Regiments of Foot marched into
 th, where they found 37 Guns mounted, some Shot
 Ammunition, with store of Wealth. The same
 Cromwel drew the rest of his Army, both Horse
 Foot into Edinburgh, without any loss, save the
 of a Souldier taken off by a Cannon-bullet from
 Castle. After which the General sent a Trumpet
 to the Castle, to invite the Ministers to come and
 each in their Churches, which they refusing the
 elish supplied their places He then caused a pro-
 ion for Markets, and liberty of Trade in Eden-
 gh and Leith, to be proclaimed by Drum and
 mper, and marched thence with his Army to
 ithgow, leaving Coll. Overton with his Brigade
 ind, and came within a mile of Sterling, from
 ce Cromwel sent a Letter to that Garrison, ex-
 ling the Armies constant affection and tenderness
 he People of Scotland, which though hitherto in-
 tual, yet being so far advanced into their Coun-
 desired them to consider of it, and deliver up
 place to the Commonwealth of England. The
 mpeter that carried the Letter was met by a Gen-
 an on Foot, with a Pike in his hand, who told
 They would not let him come into the Town
 receive his Letter. In the Afternoon came a
 mpeter from the Scots, desiring release of Priso-
 ; to which Cromwel answered, ' That they
 ne not thither to make Merchandize of Men, or
 n to themselves, but for the service and security
 the Common-wealth of England. The same day
 m was designed upon Sterling, but it not being

thought practicable, the Army marched back to Leithgow, which they Fortified and made a Front Garrison, being in the heart of the Country; leaving there five Troops of Horse, and six Companies of Foot, and Cromwel with the rest returned to Edinburgh, where the General and Officers kept a Fast. The Kirk party also appointed a solemn Fast. 1. To humble themselves for their too much confidence in the Arm of Flesh. 2. For the Malignity and perverseness of their Army. 3. For the plundering and Wickedness of their Army when in England. 4. For their not sufficient purging their Army. 5. For their Commissioners unlawful and surreptitious manner of prosecuting the Treaty with the King, and the crooked ways in bringing him home. 6. For their not sufficient purging the King's House. 7. For the just grounds they have that the Kings Repentance was not sound, nor from the heart.

Cromwel now took order for the effectual reducing of the Castle of Edinburgh, which the Scots counted Impregnable by Scituation, having a Garrison of 400 Souldiers, and all manner of Ammunition and Provisions, Col. W. Dundas being Governor: But the General notwithstanding all seeming difficulties imployed many Scots and English Miners who went so near the Works of the Castle, that they carried off one Scots Colours, 300 Muskets, and other Arms without loss, though the Scots sent many great and small shot among them, so that the Fortification of Leith, and the Mining at Edinburgh went prosperously. Oct. 2. The English searched the Grey Church at Edinburgh, where they found one great Iron Gun, 200 new Muskets, 16 Barrels of Powder, 65 bundles of Bandileers and Swords, 200 new Muskets, 500 pikes, 300 new Pikes, and 2 Load of Match.

How Calamitous now was the condition of Scotland, that when an Enemy was in the very bowels of their Country there should be such divisions among themselves, even to the destroying of each other.

one party in the North was for the King without the Kirk; those with Middleton kept the Highlands. Another were for the Kirk against the King, whose chiefs were Coll. Ker, Straughan, and their Adherents the West. A third party were for King and Kirk, David Lesley, Holbourn, and those of Kife; these were then at Sterling, and most considerable, having the Authority of the Committee of Estates, and General Assembly to countenance them. All these had their Swords drawn against each other. Things being in this posture, Cromwel sends a Letter both to the Committee of Estates, and to Ker and Straughan, declaring, 'What amicable ways they had hitherto used to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, which tho it succeeded not, yet they should still endeavour the same; assuring them, their Arms were still stretched out to embrace them, when God should incline them to come in, and that they sought not domination, nor to enslave them, or deprecise their Church-Government, nor sought their Goods or Estates, but to carry on the Lords work; which if they would still be blind and persist in gain-saying and opposing, then what further misery beset their Nation by Famine or Sword, would lye heavy on them.

This Letter was sent by Coll. Whaley, who received an answer from Coll. Ker, inveighing severely against the Proceedings of the Army, and 'That no Cessation or Treaty was to be made till the English were gone out of the Kingdom, which they had unjustly invaded: So there being no likelihood of an accommodation, Major Brown with a party of Horse took in a strong place named Dalhousie, and in it 50 Muskets, 50 Pikes, four Barrels of Powder, with store of Provisions, supposed to be the Magazine of the Scots Troopers (who killed divers English stragling Provisions) some of whom were taken at Darling Castle, seven Miles from Edinburgh. Soon after Lambert with 2000 Horse Marched toward

Dumfrieze; Coll. Ker being then about Pebbles, and Whaley in his march toward the Enemy, took Daiketh Castle with a threatening Summons, where were store of Arms, Cannon, Powder, Match and Ball; the Wall of it was 12 foot broad at the top; Lambert having with difficulty passed Hambleton River next morning Ker resolved to surprize him, and attempted it with much courage; but the English being timely alarm'd, suddenly surrounded most of the Scots Horse, of whom they killed 100 and took 100, besides 400 Horses and Furniture deserted by their Riders, pursuing the rest to Ayre, Ker himself being taken Prisoner in the flight, with several other Officers Coll. Straughan, Capt. Griffen, with some others of the Western party, came in to Lambert, who brought them to the Head Quarters at Edinburgh.

Cromwel observing the mining of Edinburgh Castle would be tedious, raises a mount upon a rising ground whereon to plant a Battery, notwithstanding the most endeavours of the Besieged, and having mounted four Mortar pieces and six battering Cannon upon it, he sent one Summons more to the Governour. That for preventing further Mischiefs, he would surrender the place to him upon proper Conditions. The Governour answered, That he was intrusted by the Committee of Estates of Scotland to keep the Castle and desired two days time to acquaint them with the condition; but this was denied. So the Cannon and Mortars began to play, and the Scots hung out a Flag of defiance against them, but they had not plaid long when they took it in, so it was judged some great damage was done by four or five shells that fell among the Scots and put out a white Flag on the top of the Castle, and sent forth a Drummer, the Governour desiring once again leave to send to the Committee of Estates, which being again refused, two Commissioners of each side concluded a Treaty; agreeing, 'That the Castle of Edinburgh should be surrendered to his Excellency Gen. Cromwel, on December 24. 1650, and

all the Cannon, Arms, Magazines and Furniture of War : That the Governour with a'l the Officers and Souldiers, should march forth with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, Matches lighted, and Bullet in mouth, to such places as they shall choose ; that such Inhabitants as have any Goods in the Castle, shall have them restored.

There were taken in this strong Castle five French Cannon, five Dutch half Cannon, two Culverins, two demi Culverins, two Minions, two Falcons, 28 Iron Drakes, two Petards, 7000 Arms, and other provisions. It was admired that this strong Hold, the most impregnable in all Scotland, should so soon surrender, considering its situation and advantages, being built upon a high Rock or Precipice, having only one entrance, very steep and narrow, so that not above three can go a-breast, commanding all places about it, inasmuch that by the Cannon the English were often galled in their Quarters, though at a considerable distance. It was the common Discourse that it was assaulted with silver Engines, but whether Covetousness, Cowardice or Treachery were the cause, it was of very great Consequence and Advantage to Cromwell, and the further Proceedings of his Army.

The sharpness of the Winter, in that Northern Climate, was so extreme about this time, that the War seemed almost at a stand, and the Scots were employed in Crowning the King, who had been some time before at St. Johnstons, where he received the news of the loss of the Scots at Dunbar, and of the death of his Sister the Princess Elizabeth, who died about the same time at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight. The Town of Scoon was appointed for his Coronation, where 150 Kings of that Nation had been Crowned before ; So Jan. 1. 1651. the King with the Nobility, Barons and Burgeses, in their Robes removed thither, the whole Scotch Army standing all the way as a Guard from St. Johnstons thither. Having heard

the Sermon Preached by Mr. Robert Dowglas, the King sitting upon a Scaffold erected in the Church took the Coronation Oath, and subscribed the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant. After which he ascended upon a Stage a little higher and sat down on the Throne, when the People being demanded four times by the King at Arms, 'Whether they were willing to accept of King Charles for their King, and become Subject to his Commands. They expressed their Consent with loud acclamations, God save King Charles the Second. Then the Crown was set upon his Head by the Marquiss of Argyle, and the Nobility touching it with their right hands, swore Allegiance to him in these Words, 'By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth forever, I shall support thee to the utmost. The People also holding up their Hands, swore Obedience according to the usual Oath. Then the King and Nobility departed in the same Pomp as they entered, and after a stately Dinner return'd to St. Johnstons.

The Scots now consulted how to raise such an Army as might drive the English out of Scotland; so after they had Excommunicated Coll. Straughan, Smetton, and others who came into the English, they gave out Commissions for raising more Forces, and many new Commanders were made, Middleton being Lieut. General of the Horse. After which David Leslie Lieut. General, with a Party of 800 Horse, made an attempt upon Lithgow, where was Coll. Sanderson with a Regiment of Horse, who received them so warmly, that the Scots retreated without entering the Town. Cromwel being willing to gain all those Garrisons on the South of the Frith, ordered Coll. Fenwick with 2 Regiments of Horse and Foot to reduce Hume Castle, who sent a Summons to Tho. Cockburn the Governour, informing him, That Lieut. General Cromwel had ordered him to reduce that Castle, and that he should have good Terms, which would ease the adjacent Parts of a great Charge, expecting his answer

swer by 7
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swer by 7 next morning. Cockburn returns answer
That he had received a Trumpeter of his without a
Pass, to render Hume Castle to Lieutenant General
Cromwel, that he never saw his General nor knew
him, and that Hume Castle stood upon a Rock. Ad-
ding the following Verses.

I William of the Wastle,
Am now in my Castle.
And awe the Dogs in the Toon,
Shan't ger me gang down.

Yet this resolute and quibbling Answer did not se-
cure him, for when the English with their Cannon,
and a Morter-piece had made a small breach, the Be-
sieged beat a Parly, and having refused the Condi-
tions offered, were compelled now to surrender up-
on Mercy, and the Governour and Garrison consist-
ing of 78 Officers and Souldiers gang'd out of the
Castle. Coll. Monk with three Regiments of Horse
and Foot, laid Siege to Timplallon Castle which had
much molested the Country with their Excursions, a-
gainst which they play'd their Mortars 48 hours with
Success : They then battered it with six large Cannon,
which did such notable execution that the Scots desi-
red a Truce, and terms to march away, but none
would be granted, only to have their Lives saved,
which was at last accepted and the Castle yielded,
with all the Guns, Arms, Ammunition and Provisions
therein ; the taking this Castle was of great concern
to the English, the passage from Edinburgh to Eer-
wick being now almost clear. But for all the care that
was used, the English were daily surprized and killed
in small stragling parties, upon which Cromwel pub-
lished this Proclamation :

‘ Finding that divers under my Command are not
‘ only daily spoil'd and robb'd, but barbarously and
‘ inhumanely slain, by a sort of Outlaws and Rob-
‘ bers not under the discipl'ine of any Army, & finding
‘ that all our tenderne's to the Country produceth no
‘ better effect than their compliance with, and pro-

tection.

The History of

tection of such Persons, and considering it is in the
Power of the Countrey to detect and discourage
them, many being Inhabitants of those places where
the Outrage is committed and their motion is ordi-
narily by the invitation and intelligence given them
by Country-men. I do therefore declare, That
any under my Command, shall be hereafter robbed
or spoiled by such Parties, I will require Life for
Life, and plenary satisfaction for their Goods, in
those Parishes and Places where the Fact shall be
committed, unless they discover the Offender
Given under my Hand at Edinburgh, Nov. 5. 1650
O. Cromwel.

In pursuance hereof several Sums of money were
Levied upon such Parishes where any Robberies and
Murthers were committed, and all Abettors and Assist-
ers were executed; Cromwel then marched from Ed-
inburgh and soon after attempted to pass over into
Fife, but the season and difficult passage not permit-
ting it, they retire to their Winter Quarters, and receiv-
ed Provisions from the English Fleet newly arrived at
Leith, which was a great encouragement to the Sol-
diers in the midst of the Hardships and Diseases to
which they were exposed, and the General had many
violent fits of the contagious Distemper of that
Country, which brought him to the brink of the
Grave, so that it was reported he was dead, to the
great joy of the Scots, who were so pleased with the
news, that they would hardly suffer themselves to be
better informed; for a Scotch Trumpeter coming out
of Fife to Edinburgh to treat about restoring a Ship
the English had taken near Burnt-Island; after he
had delivered his Message, he confidently told the
Souldiers their General was dead, and that they did
well in concealing it, nor could be convinced, till the
General ordered him to be brought into his presence,
who was now somewhat recovered; so that upon his
return this false Rumour vanished. But the Parlia-

ment

ent of England hearing that he had a Relapse and a violent Ague, they sent two eminent Physicians, Dr. Wright, and Dr. Bates, to use their utmost Art, with an Order that gave him Liberty to repair into England for recovering his Health: To which he made a return of Thanks by a Letter to the L. President, from Edinburgh dated June 3. in which among others are these unusual Expressions: 'My Lord, my Sickness was indeed so violent, that my Nature was not able to bear the weight thereof, but the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond Expectation, and to give me cause to say once more, He hath plucked me out of the Grave. So that now by the goodness of God, I find my self growing to such a state of health and strength, as may yet, if it be his good will render me useful, according to my poor ability in the station wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness in your affairs here, then to depend in the least upon so frail a thing as I am; indeed they do not, nor do they own any Instrument; this Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh, that all that have any hand therein being so perswaded, would gird up the Loins of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord. So says, my Lord,

Your most humble Servant,

O. Cromwel.

At this time Ambassadors came to the Parliament of England, from Spain, Portugal and Holland; the first was reminded of delaying execution on the Assassins of the English Resident at Madrid. The second not having full power to give satisfaction for the expences of the State, and loss of the Merchants goods, by means of that King, was quickly dismissed. The Hollander kept at a distance, rather wishing PROSPERITY to the Royal Party, then desiring peace with the Common-wealth of England: Soon after Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland were sent Ambassadors Extraordinary to the States, and received with great splendor, and having audience at the

Hague, the L. Ambassador St. John made a Learned and Elegant Speech, declaring, 'That they were sent over to the High and mighty States of the Netherlands from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to make a firm League and Confederacy between the two Republicks, if they think fit, notwithstanding the many Injuries the English have received from the Dutch Nation. Likewise to renew and confirm the former Treaties of Trade and Commerce made between the two Nations, wherein he shewed the notable advantages of England, in respect of its commodious Scituation for advancement of Trade, and all other benefits. Lastly, that the Parliament highly resented the murder of Dr. Dorislaus their Agent, not doubting but they would do their utmost to discover the Authors thereof. After which the Ambassadors Gentlemen receiving several Affronts from the Royal Party there; the States published a Proclamation to prevent it; yet these Abuses continued, no punishment being inflicted on any, tho' the common People often swarmed about the Ambassadors Gates and assaulted their Servants; and the State evaded any Treaty till they saw how matters would succeed in Scotland. The Parliament highly resenting these Proceedings recalled their Ambassadors, to the great surprize of the States, who endeavoured by frequent visits to them, to insinuate their amicable Intentions, but the Ambassadors returned to England. And that which gave some jealousy to the Parliament of their designs, was because Admiral Van Trump with a Fleet of Ships, lay hovering upon the Coast of Scilly as if to attempt something against it, and the occasion of it being demanded, the States, replied 'They had no other intent but to demand the restitution of such Ships and Goods as the Pirates there had taken from their People. With which answer the Parliament were somewhat satisfied, yet to prevent the worst, April 18. 1651. Sir G. Ayecough, with a Squadron of Ships, designed for reducing the Caribbee

Islands

linis, was sent thither, and landed 300 Seamen besides Souldiers, who soon became Masters of the Islands Tresco and Briars, taking 150 Prisoners, and killing 20. They took also two Frigats of 32 and 18 Guns, and secured the best Harbour belonging to those Islands. Hence the Enemy fled to St. Maries, their chief strength, which yet was surrendered. Cornet Castle, in the Isle of Guernsey, was attempt'ed, but thro' mis-information of the weakness of the place, the design miscarried with the loss of many Officers and Soldiers. About this time Brown Bushel an earnest stickler for the Royal party, both by Sea and Land, and who when in Service of the Parliament had delivered up Scarborough to the King, was taken and Beheaded at Tower-hill.

The Parliament of Scotland adjourned during the Coronation of the King, and met again in March, when some differences arose about restoring several Lords of the Royal party to their Seats in the House, which yet the Assembly would not admit of till they had passed the Stool of Repentance; which Duke Hamilton did with some kind of Splendor, having a Table placed before him with a black Velvet Cover, and a Cushion of the same, and making a great Feast that day. The King having now got some power, endeavoured to regain reputation among his Subjects, by putting all the Garrison of Fife into a posture of Defence against the Landing of the English, drawing what Forces he could spare, both Horse and Foot, from Sterling, and joyning them with the new Levies, which for better Security, he Quattered on the Water side, and then goes to the Highlands to compose all differences there, and to excite them to rise and join with him, from whence Middleton soon after brought a considerable body of Horse and Foot, and the Town of Dundee raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge, and sent them with a stately Tent, and six brass Cannon, for a present to the King then at Sterling, whose Army

Army now consisted in 6000 Horse and 15000 Foot but the Earl of Eglington being sent into the West with some other Commanders, to raise more Forces coming to Dunbarton, Collonel Lilburn, upon notice sent a party of Horse, who seized the Earl, his Son Collonel James Montgomery, Lieutenant Collonel Colborna, and some others, whom they carried Prisoners to Edenburgh.

It was now discovered that the English Covenanters intended a general rising in Lancashire to join with the Scots, the chief Agent being Thomas Cook of Grays-Inn, Esq; who was taken and committed. And a ship bound from the North of Scotland to the Isle of Man, being by Tempest driven into Ayre, was searcht, and many Papers seized that gave light into the business. And a party of Horse and Dragoons marched to Grenock, seized Mr. Birkinhead, another Agent for the Royalists Designs, about whom they found such Letters, Commissions and Instructions, as the whole Intreague was discovered; upon which Major Gen. Harrison was sent with a Detachment of Horse and Foot to Carlisle, to prevent Insurrections, or oppose the Inroads of the Scots. At London several were taken up, viz. Mr. Christ. Love, Major Alford, M. Adams, Coll. Barton, Mr. Blackmore, Mr. Case, Mr. Cawton, Dr. Drake, Mr. Drake, Capt. Part, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Haviland, M. Huntington, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Jequel, Mr. Jackson, L. Col. Jackson, Cap. Massey, Mr. Walton, Cap. Porter, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Sterks, Col. Sowton, Col. Vaughan, and others; of all whom only Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons suffered, being both beheaded on Tower-hill, Aug. 21. 1651. The rest among whom were 7 or 8 Ministers of London, upon their humble Petitions were pardoned. There now happened an Insurrection of 3000 Wales, who declared for King Charles, upon a report that the English Army, under Cromwell was defeated in Scotland, but they were soon suppressed.

Coll. which Batteri quired rendre many the E try, so for co Garrist ture fo Capt. Frigate Sould Jun march whee treate Engli Leith Scots when at To ped to his Fo the R Crom twelv but th at a d and them Forc the S in ha vern whole lieve

Coll. Monk was sent by Cromwel to Blackness, which had much annoyed their Quarters: After the Batteries were made, and some shot spent, they required Quarter, which was given, and the place surrendered. Yet the Scots grew formidable, and made many infa's upon the out Quarters and Garrisons of the English with much success, by knowing the Country, so that several were slain; so Orders were given for contracting their Quarters by slighting the remote Garrisons, and the Army was put into a marching posture for Fife, Blackness being made their Magazine; Capt. Butler at the same time arriving in the Success Frigate at Leith, with 80000 pounds for paying the Souldie's.

June 24. The Army being ready for a Campaign, march to Red-hall, and thence to Peneland-hills, where they encamped, and the General in his Tent treated the Lady Lambert, Gen. Deans, and other English Ladies and Gentlewomen, who came from Leith to view the Camp. The Army hearing the Scots were at Falkirk, marched to Lithgow, from whence they might see the Tents of the Scotch Army at Torwood, four Miles on this side Sterling, and hoped to come to a Battle; but the King having drawn his Foot into Torwood, fortified his Camp, which with the River and Bogs prevented any Assault, though Cromwel marched in sight of them, and stood from twelve to eight at night expecting the Scots approach; but they only play'd on the English with their Cannon at a distance, so that the Army drew off to Glasgow, and thence to Hamilton, but not being able to engage them, he attack'd Kalender House where part of their Forces were, which denying to yield upon Summons, the Soldiers with Faggots pass'd over the Mote, and in half an hour possess'd the House, putting the Governour and 62 Soldiers to the Sword in Sight of the whole Scotch Army, who did not once stir to relieve their Friends.

Cromwel finding the Scots would protract the War, resolves once more to attempt the taking of Fife, to prevent them from having any further supplies: So there were drawn out 1600 Foot, and four Troops of Horse, who under Coll. Overton were designed for this Service; and being imbarqued in the 27 flat bottom'd boats sent from England, in the morning they landed at Queen's-ferry, with the loss of 6 men, and intrencht themselves. While this was doing Cromwel with his Army, marched up close to the Scots, that if they had gone toward Fife, he might have engaged them before they could have reached Sterling. The Scots receiving the Alarm sent 4000 Horse and Foot under Sir John Brown, to force the English out of Fife; upon which, Cromwel sent Lambert with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot to reinforce the other party, who in 24 hours were ferried over and joined. So Coll. Okey with his Regiment fell in among the Scots, whereby they were forced to draw up in Battalia, and so did the English who were superior in number, but had the disadvantage of Ground. In this posture they continued facing each other about an hour and half, when the English resolved to attack the Scots by ascending an Hill, and Lamberts right Wing falling furiously upon the Scots Left, they endured the shock with much resolution; after a while the whole body engaging, in a short time the Scots were utterly routed, 2000 being slain, and 1400 taken Prisoners, with their Commanders Sir John Brown, Coll. Buchan, and many others of Quality. Of the English few were killed, but many wounded. Then other Detachments were sent over to Fife, to enable them to engage the whole Scots Army. The strong Castle of Innesgarvey, scituate on a Rock in the midst of the Fryth, between Queens Ferrey and North-Ferrey, was surrendered to the English, the Garrison being so terrified, that they were content to march out only with their Swords to shew what profession they were of, leaving all their Ammunition

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munition and Provisions, with sixteen pieces of Cannon behind them.

July 27. The whole English Army appeared before Burnt Island, and the General Summons it, to which the Governour returned a modest answer, and next Day desired a Parley: Commissioners on both sides were chosen, and it was agreed, That all the Provisions, Guns, and Shipping of War, should be delivered to the English, all the Officers and Souldiers to march out with Drums beating, &c. Thence they marched to St. Johnstons, a place of great Strength and Importance, into which the King had lately put a Regiment of Foot, who made some Difficulty at first to surrender, but finding Cromwel had ordered the draining the Moat round about the Town, the Courage of the Scots failed, so that they soon delivered it up.

The King finding his Affairs in Scotland grow desperate, mustered his Forces, being 16000 Horse and Foot, and with these and hopes of further Supplies from his Friends he resolves to go for England, so the Scotch Army began their March from Sterling, July 30. 1651. and the sixth day after entred England by the way of Carlisle; which news coming to London, startled the Parliament, and Cromwel was a little surprized, who by staying to reduce St. Johnstons had suffered the Kings Army to get three days March before him, which he excuses in a Letter to the Parliament, since the Army acted to the best of their Judgments. Cromwel presently orders Lambert to march in the Reer of the Scots with 3000 Horse and Dragoons; Harrison was to attack them, if possible, in the Vzn, and the General himself followed with 16 Regiments of Horse and Foot, leaving the persecution of the War in Scotland to Lieut. General Monk with 7000 Horse and Foot, who took in the Town and Castle of Sterling, with Aberdeen, Abernethy, Dundee, Dinotter Castle, Dunbarton Castle, and

and several others; so that all Scotland was subdued to the Republick of England.

The King marched forward with his Army, being proclaimed in all Towns as he went along, and published a Declaration, promising Pardon to all Persons for all crimes, except Cromwel, Bradshaw and Cook. A Copy of the Declaration sent by the King in a Letter to the L. Mayor and Aldermen of London, was by Order of Parliament burnt by the Hangman at the Royal Exchange. And at a Muster of the City Trained Bands in Bunhill fields, consisting of 14000 Men, Lenthall, the Speaker of the House, came thither, and caused a fellow with a Link to burn a Copy of the Declaration at the Head of every Regiment. And the Parliament pass an Act to make it High Treason to correspond with or assist Charles Stewart with any relief whatsoever. After many Halts, Skirmishes, long and tedious Marches, of 300 Miles in three Weeks, the Scots entred into Worcester, Aug. 23. 1651. from whence the King sent his Letters Mandatory to Sir Tho. Middleton and Coll. Mackworth, Governours of Shrewsbury, to raise Forces for him, but without success. The Parliament raised the Militia of the Countreys, and Cromwel and the rest of their Army coming up together surrounded them on every side with their numerous Host, it being not known before in Engl. that so great Forces were assembled in so short a time, which in the whole were judged to be above 50000, and the Scots in Worcester no more than 13000. The Earl of Derby being landed, as was expected at Wyewater in Lancashire, with 300 Gentlemen and others, while the English were busied at Worcester, increased to 1500. Coll. Lilburn was sent thither to observe his Motions, and Cromwells Regiment of Foot being at Manchester was to join him at Preston. To prevent which, the Earl marched toward Manchester, Lilburn endeavoured to flank them in their march, so to join the Foot; which the Earl perceiving, prest to engage, and Lilburn being

over

over-matched in Foot, the dispute proved difficult, yet in an hour the Earl was totally routed, many persons of Quality taken, 500 Soldiers, all their Baggage, Arms, and Ammunition, the Earl of Derby's George, Garter and Robes of the Order, but he escaped, and recovered Worcester. There were slain the Lord Widdrington, Sir Tho. Tildesly, Col. Mat. Boynton, and other inferiour Officers, with 60 Soldiers. Of the Parliament party, ten only were slain, but many wounded.

Cromwel having disposed the whole Army round Worcester in order to a Siege, the first remarkable attempt was possessing of a Pass upon the Severn, at Upton by a party led by Lambert and Fleetwood, who marched toward the River Teame, over which was made a bridge of Boats, and another over Severn, on the Generals side; Upon which the Kings party took the alarm, and drew out Horse and Foot to oppose their passage, to whose relief Col. Ingolby's, and Fairfax's Regiment of Foot, the General's Life Guard, and Hacker's Regiment of Horse, were all led on by Cromwel himself: Then Col. Goffe and Dean's Regiments all to scowring the Hedges which the King's party had made, and beat them from Hedge to Hedge, and being seconded by a fresh Supply, they were forced to retreat to Powick-bridge, where three Regiments of Scots maintained a hot dispute, but at length retired into Worcester, except some that were taken. The Royalists renewing their courage, drew out what Horse and Foot they could on Cromwel's side, the King leading them on, they imagining most of his Army had been on the other side, so that by this bold and resolute Sally, Cromwel's men were forc'd a little to retire; But after a fight of four hours wherein the King had his Horse twice shot under him, the Works and Fort Royal were taken, their Cannon turn'd upon themselves, and the English entred the Town; upon which many of the Foot threw down their Arms, which the King perceiving, rode up and down with

with his Hat in his Hand, intreating them to stand to their Arms, adding, 'I had rather you would shoot me, than keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this fatal Day. But all proving ineffectual, the Earl of Cleveland and some others, rallying some Forces put a small check to the Victors, whereby the King had opportunity to escape about Seven at Night in the dark, with sixty Horse, out of St. Martins gate.

The whole Army now entering the City, the Soldiers seriously fly through the streets, doing such execution, that nothing was seen for some time but blood and slaughter, till at last the Plunder of the Town and the Prisoners having a little terrified their appetites, they think of securing the rest. Most of the Scots Foot were slain or taken, but 3000 Horse made their escape. The number of the slain and Prisoners was about 10000. Those of Quality taken were Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnworth, Shrewsbury, Cleveland, Derby and Kelby, and several other Lords and Gentlemen; 6 Coll. of Horse, 12 of Foot, 9 Lieut. Coll. of Horse, 8 of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 12 of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 of Foot, 55 Quarter Masters of Horse, 89 Lieutenants of Foot, 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 30 of the Kings Servants, 9 Ministers, 9 Surgeons, 158 Colours, the Kings Standard, Coach and Horses, with other rich Plunder, and his Collar of 85. Many Parties were taken in Warwickshire, Shropshire, &c. so that few of that great Body, but were killed or taken. Major General Massey being wounded surrendered himself, and after made his Escape. M. Gen. Middleton, Lieut. General Lesley, were taken and soon after most of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland were taken at Ellet in that Kingdom, where they were assembled to propagate the Royal Cause, namely, Old General Lesley, Earl Marshal, Earl of Crawford, the Lords Keith, Ogilby, Burgoyne, Huntley, Ley, with many Knights, Gentlemen and

Ministers

ministers, which were shipped and sent for England. Such was the sudden change of the condition of the Scots and the King, that he who a few days before was proclaimed King of Great Britain, had now neither Camp nor Garrison to retire to, 500 pounds sterling being offered to disover him; so that after travelling in disguise, and through many dangers about England, he at length found an opportunity to embark at Shoreham in Suffex for New-haven, in France, where he arrived October 2. Of the great number of Prisoners taken, none of Quality suffered but the Earl of Derby, beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire, and Sir Tim. Fetherstone: Others of less Note suffered at Chester, Shrewsbury and other places. Nor did many of the Royalists expect any better Fortune in this Expedition, as appears by D. Hamiltons Letter to Sir Will. Crofts, taken among other Papers a few days before the Fight to this purpose: 'We are all laughing at the ridiculousness of our Condition, who having quitted Scotland being scarce able to maintain it, yet we grasp at all and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell whether our Hopes or Fears are greatest, but we have one stout Argument and that is Despair, for we must now either shortly Fight or Dye. All the Rogues have left us, I will not say whether for fear or disloyalty, but all now with his Majesty, are such as will not dispute his Commands. So that we see this undertaking was not the product of Deliberate counsel, but of Necessity and Desperation. This Battle put a period to the Kings hopes of getting the Government by Arms, and secur'd to Cromwel all his former Conquests, the Influence whereof he acted in England, was great in Scotland; for their principal Nobility and Souldiers being cut off, they were no longer able to bear up but were soon reduced to the Obedience of England. And Cromwel giving an account to the Parliament of this great success, he concludes his LETTER by telling them, that

That this was a Crowning Victory, which was afterward thought to proceed from the foresight of his future Greatness. This fight happened Sept. 3. 1651. that very day twelve month wherein the Scots received that fatal blow at Dunbar. After the Battle Cromwel staid to see the Walls of Worcester levelled to the Ground, and the Ditches filled up with Earth to shew his aversion to the Inhabitants for receiving his Enemies into it; and Sept. 12. came to London being met at Acton by the Parliament and their Speaker, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and hundreds of others; to whom Steel the City Recorder made a Congratulatory Oration, extolling his Victories and Exploits, with the highest flights of Rhetorick, and applying to him the words of Psalm 149. ' Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two edged Sword in their Hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, and Punishments upon the Proud; to bind their Kings with Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron, to execute upon them the Judgment written; this Honour have all the Saints, Praise ye the Lord. He was then conducted in triumph to his House near White-Hall, great numbers of Scots Prisoners coming after him, through Tuthil fields to Westminster, as Trophies of his Victories, and the Colours taken there, with those at Dunbar, Worcester and Preston, were hung up in Westminster-Hall. After a short repose Cromwel and Lambert went to take their Places in Parliament and were entertained by the Speaker with a second Congratulatory Oration, magnifying their Courage and acknowledging the great obligation of the People of England to them. The same Day the Lord Mayor feasted the General and his Officers, where mutual returns of Kindness passed to the satisfaction of both Parties.

Oct. 14. 1651. Coll. Hryn with two Regiments of Foot, and 2 Troops of Horse, were shipp'd at Wexmouth for reducing the Isle of Jersey, in 80 Vessels

under General Blake, who came to St. Owens Bay, where the Ships running aground, the Men leapt out to the middle, others up to the neck in water, and run ashoar, the Enemy playing hard upon them with great and small shot, and gave a hot charge with their Horse; yet after half an hours dispute they fled and left behind them 12 Cannon and some Colours. The English marched further into the Island, within sight of Elizabeth Castle, under which was a Fort called St. Albans Tower with 14 Guns, which upon summons was delivered, and so was Orgueil Castle, and Elizabeth Castle, upon good terms to the Garrison and Governour Sir G. Carteret, because of its strength. The Isle of Man was likewise reduced, with the Castles of Peel and Rushen, both strong and most impregnable (as well as Cornet Castle in the Isle of Guernsey) if the Besieged had resolutely defended them. About this time died Adm. Popham, and Henry Ireton, Son in law to Oliver Cromwel, at Limerick, which Kingdom in a while, was wholly reduced to the Government of England.

The Parliament now passed an Act for incorporating Scotland into one Common weal with England; another of Oblivion and Free Pardon; a third to determine the Session of this Parliament on No. 3. 1654. fourth for the increase of Shipping, and encouragement of Navigation, wherein was enacted, ' That no Foreign Goods or Commodities should be imported into England or Ireland, but only in English Ships, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Goods and Ships. And that no Goods shall be brought in, unless shipped from the places of their growth and Manufacture only. Also that no Fish or Oyl made of Fish, or Whale-bone, shall be imported, but such as shall be caught in Vessels belonging to the English. Lastly, that no salted Fish, from Feb. 1. 1653, shall be exported in any save English Vessels, with several other Exceptions and Provisoos, in reference

ference to East-India Goods, and of Turkey, Spain and Portugal.

This late Act tho' grateful to the Merchants and Seamen, yet extremely disturbed the Hollanders, judging it would cause a vast diminution in their trade which with so much advantage they had long driven to the loss and detriment of the English Nation; who sent Ambassadors to desire it might be repealed, but not succeeding, they began to dispute our Ancient Right of the Flag in the British Seas, by refusing to strike sail to our Men of War, which occasioned breach between the two Republicks. For in May 1665 Adm. Trump with 42 sail of Dutch Ships, was discovered on the back of the Goodwin Sands, bearing toward Dover Road: Major Bourn being near with Squadron of English Ships, sent the Grey-hound Frigate to speak with them, to whom they struck the Topsail, saying, they came with a Message from Adm. Trump, to our Commander in chief, and coming aboard, said, That the great North Winds had forced them farther South then they intended, being compelled to ride some Days off Dunkirk, where they had lost divers Anchors and Cables, protesting they intended no injury to the Eng. Fleet; Gen. Blake who was westward with the rest of the Eng. Fleet, having speedily advice of this passage, hastened toward them, and May 19. saw them at Anchor in Dover Road, and being within three Leagues they stood Eastward and received an Express from the States; upon which they bore directly up to our Fleet. Van Trump being headmost, Blake shot three Guns without Ball at his Flag, and Trump answered with a Gun on the opposite side of the Ship, signifying a disdain, and instead of striking his Topsail hung out a red Flag which was the Signal for his whole Fleet, and gave Blake a Broadside. The Fight continued four hours till Night parted them, in which one Dutch Ship was sunk, and another of Thirty Guns taken, with the Captains of both and 150 Prisoners. Of the Eng.

Spaish 10 were slain and 40 wounded ; the English Admiral was damaged in her Masts, Sails, Rigging and Hull, but the rest of the Fleet had inconsiderable loss.

This attempt of the Hollanders, while we were upon Treaty, so incens'd the Parliament. that all the Addresses and Overtures of their Ambassadors, and the sending hither two more could not appease 'em ; yet, though they excused it, alledging, ' That the unhappy Fight between the Ships of both Commonwealths was without the knowledge and against the wills of the States, taking God the Searcher of Hearts to witness the same, and that with grief and astonishment they received the News of that unhappy rash action, and had consulted a remedy to this raw and bloody wound, by appointing a Solemn Meeting of all the Provinces, whereby they doubted not (by God's favour) to remove the cause of all further differences, for the benefit of both Nations, and to avoid the detestable shedding of Christian blood so much desired by their Enemies, beseeching the Council of State, by the pledges of common Religion and Liberty, to do nothing out of heat, which with vain Wishes can never be recalled. This they desire the more, because their Ships of War and Merchandize are detained in the English Ports.

The Parliament replied, ' That calling to mind the friendship and good Correspondence which they have always discovered toward the States General, during all the Troubles in England, they are much surprized at such unsuitable Returns, especially at the acts of Hostility lately committed in the very Roads of England upon the Ships of this Commonwealth ; tho' they would willingly believe that the late Engagements of the Fleets hapned without their knowledge or consent, yet when they consider how disagreeable the actions of that State, and their Officers at Sea have been in the midst of a Treaty offered by themselves, and the extraordinary preparation of 130 Ships with-

without any visible occasion, and the Instructions
 given by the States to their Commanders at Sea
 they have too much cause to believe that the States
 General design by force to Usurp the known Rights
 of England in the Seas; to destroy their Fleets that
 are under God their Walls and Bulwarks, and to
 expose the Nation to be invaded at pleasure, as
 their late action they have attempted to do. There-
 fore the Parliament are obliged to endeavour (with
 Gods assistance) to seek reparations for the wrongs
 already suffered, and security against any such at-
 tempts for the future, yet still desiring that all dis-
 ferences, if possible, may be peaceably and am-
 cably composed.

This Answer quite broke off the Treaty, and the
 Ambassadors having had Audience of the Parliament
 took their leaves and departed.

And now these mighty States prepare to ingage
 each other; Gen. Blake, with a gallant Fleet advan-
 ced North towards the Isles of Orkney, to seize
 Vessels fishing there, who took 12 Dutch Men of War
 guarding the Busses; and Sir G. Ayscough with his
 Squadron being left to guard the narrow Seas, dis-
 covered 30 Dutch Ships between Dover and Calice,
 which ten were taken and burnt, the rest run ashore
 on the Coast of France. Many other Dutch and
 French Prizes were daily taken. Thence Ayscough
 sailed West, to seek out the Dutch Fleet, and con-
 veyed home some Merchant-men from Plymouth; and
 being within 7 leagues of Plymouth, he had adviced
 them, so he resolved to stand over to the Coast of
 France, and next day, Aug. 16. 1652, had fight
 with them, being 60 sail of Men of War, and 30 Mercha-
 nts; the English were but 38 sail, four Fireships
 and four Advice Ships, yet they resolved to engage
 the Enemy: Ayscough and 6 other Frigats charged
 thro' the whole Dutch Fleet, receiving much Dam-
 age in their Masts, Hulls, Sails and Rigging, yet they
 tack'd about, and charged them all again till day-
 Night

ight, and had not some English Captains been deficient in their Duty, they had probably destroyed the whole Navy. In this Engagement some few English were slain and wounded, and three Captains; a Fire Ship of theirs was sunk, with two other Ships; but the darkness of the Night concealed their other losses, who stood away for the Coasts of France, and the English for Plymouth to repair.

During this Fight, Blake came from the North in the Downs, and took six rich Dutch Prizes tending to reinforce Ayscough, and Capt. Penn with his Squadron, hovering on the Coasts of France, and surprized six stout Men of War more, now returned from the Venetian Service, and richly laden. Sept. 9. 1652. Blake riding in the Downs, having notice of a French Fleet in Callice Road, whom he chased as far as they durst for the Sands of Dunkirk, taking the most of them, being ten Men of War of 28 and 30 Guns, and six Fire Ships; This Fleet was to take in provisions at Callice for the Relief of Dunkirk then besieged by the Spaniards, who being prevented of their Succour soon surrendered, as also Graveling. Sept. 10. Gen. Blake discovered 60 Sail of Dutch Men of War on the back of Goodwin Sands under Admiral Wit; next Day Blake with his Fleet bore in against them, but being upon the Sand called the Kenel Knock, under which the Dutch had secured themselves, four of our Ships were on Ground, but soon got off, and resolved to engage, but the Wind prevented them from coming up, yet with much ado next day within shot, upon which the Dutch set their main sails and run for it, whom ten Frigates followed till Night, and next day pursued them in sight of West Gabel in Zeeland, and saw them run into the Scheldt; The English fearing to sail further upon the Dutch Coast, returned back. In this Skirmish the Dutch Reer-Admiral was lost, with a Fly-boat that followed her, and many Men killed; 40 English were killed and as many wounded.

The War between these two States reach'd to the Mediterranean Sea, whether the English had sent several Frigats to secure the Merchant's Ships from Privateers of Toulon and Marseilles; and a Squadron of four sail, with three Smyrna-ships under their Command, met with 11 Dutch Men of War, who having such advantage, fell upon them, but met with little resistance, two of their Main Top Masts being cut down, and one of their Ships fired but quenched her gain. The Phoenix a stout Ship of 45 Guns, was taken by the Dutch, the Paragon lost 27 Men, and 30 wounded; the Elizabeth had only two Barrels of Powder left, yet in despite of the Enemy, they brought their Merchants safe into Porto Longone on the Isle of Corsica, where the Fight was. The Dutch gloried in this small Success, tho' they obtained dearly, and more by their number than valour, the English never giving over while they had Men and Ammunition.

The Hollanders extremely concerned at the continual loss of their Ships, used their utmost Industry, fitting out their Fleet in December, and appeared on the back of the Goodwin with 90 Men of War, and 10 Fireships. The English under Blake were 42, and not half man'd, most of the great Ships being laid up, yet they resolve to engage them, and Dec. 30. both Fleets met, the English having the Weather-gage, and as few as they were, several of them never came up pretending they wanted Men, that the stress of the Fight lay upon a few, who went to encounter the whole Dutch Fleet. The Vanguard and the Victory engaged 20 of the Hollanders, first to last, and yet got clear of them all. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken, and Blake going to relieve the first, had his Foremast shot by board, was twice board'd, and yet got off, as did the rest but those two, and two Merchant-ships. Blake withdrew into Lee-Road to repair, and the Dutch

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sted of this Victory, by their Ambassadors, in all Courts of Christendom.

This small Loss did only rouse and awaken the English Courage, who thought on nothing but Revenge; to encourage them, the Parliament ordered the mens Wages to be raised, from 18 to 23 Shillings a month; for every Prize taken to have ten Shillings a day, and six pounds ten shillings and four pence for every great Gun, whether Iron or Brass, to be divided among the Ships Crew, according to their Offices; all upon or above the Gun-deck to be Prize. likewise to have ten pounds a Gun for every Man of War they shall sink and destroy, to be divided with the mens pay gratis to all Volunteers listed within 40 days; and care taken for paying and curing the sick and wounded, with several other advantages: Which being Printed and Published the Seamen came in abundance, so that in February the English had a stout Fight at Sea, though the Dutch endeavoured to hinder all Nations from supplying us with Pitch, Tar, or other Necessaries.

Febr. 18. 1653, The Dutch Navy of 80 sail, with Merchant-men from Roan, Nants and Burdeaux, were discovered between the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth, the headmost of the English Fleet came up and engaged them, which was Gen. Blake in the Triumph, the Deed, and three or four more, the rest being to the Leeward, and not able to come up; yet these held 30 Dutch Men of War in play from 8 till 2 o'clock; when about half the English Fleet came and engag'd the Enemy till Night parted them. In the Fight the English lost only the Sampson, a Dutch Ship, which being unserviceable themselves sank, the rest being all saved; which Ship sunk the adversary's main-mast. Next day the English chased the Dutch, whereby some of the Enemies Ships were brought to the Lee and destroyed. The day after they engaged again, and the dispute grew so hot, the Hollanders began to fire out of their Stern-

most ports, and make away ; so that 30 Merchant Ships fell into our Hands, and 9 Men of War, several others being sunk, besides what themselves sunk unserviceable ; and it was writ from France that above 2000 dead Bodies of the Dutch were seen about their Shoars ; 130 were taken Prisoners and brought to London ; Blake was wounded, and several English Captains slain.

The Dutch deeply sensible of this loss sent a Letter to the Parliament of England, signed only by the States of Holland : The Parliament returned answer signifying their desire of a friendly compliance to avoid further mischief ; yet it had no effect. But the English to allay this Victory met with a great check at the Straights, for having by a Stratagem regain'd the Phoenix Frigate from the Dutch, as she lay in Leghorn Haven, they prepared for another encounter with them : Captain Boddily with nine Men of War, sailed from Porto Longone, to assist Capt. Apleton at Leghorn, where he had been kept in for several months by 22 Holland Frigats ; upon his approach Apleton weighed out of the Mole a little too soon with his Ships, and was instantly engaged by the whole Dutch Fleet, who having the Wind, their Admiral and ten others boarded the Leopard, a stout ship of 30 Guns who fought bravely five hours, but at length was overpowered. The Bonadventure by a shot in her powder-room, took fire and was blown up. The Prigine was engaged with four or five Dutch at a time and having her main and mizen Mast shot away, was also taken. The Levant Merchant was first boarded by one of the Enemies Ships of 36 Guns, and after two hours Fight, by another as big, the first of which she sunk, and yet was also possess'd by the Dutch. The Sampson was boarded by young Rear Admiral Tru on one side, and a Fireship on the other, and burnt. The loss of these five Ships was the greatest damage the English sustained since the War, and was done in the fight of Capt. Boddily and 9 English Frigats, who

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not in the least assist them; for which they were
 ended with Cowardice and Treachery.

At this time the King of Portugal unable to resist
 the Power of the English at Sea, sent an Ambassador
 to conclude a Peace and give satisfaction for the Mer-
 chants losses. An Agent was likewise sent from the
 French King, desiring the release of his Ships taken
 for the relief Dunkirk, and to procure a right
 understanding between the two Republicks. And on
 the other side, four Deputies were sent from the Pr.
 Conde, to crave Aid against Cardinal Mazarine
 and his Party, who had Besieged the City of Borde-
 aux. Other Nations likewise endeavoured to be Me-
 diators between England and Holland, as the Queen
 of Sweden, the Cantons of Switzerland, the Impe-
 rial Cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, but all was
 fruitless.

December 10. 1652. Gen. Cromwel appointed a
 meeting of divers Members of the Parliament and
 principal Officers of the Army, where he proposed
 to them, 'That the old King being dead, and his
 Son defeated, he held it necessary to come to a set-
 tlement of the Nation, and he requested this meet-
 ing, that they might consider and advise what was
 to be done, and to present it to the Parliament;
 at this Proposal several Present gave their Opinions,
 and first,

Mr. William Lenthall, Speaker of the House, spake
 thus, My Lord, This Company were very ready to
 obey your Excellency, and the Business you are
 pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be con-
 sidered. God hath given marvellous Success to our
 Forces under your Command, and if we do not im-
 prove these Mercies to some Settlement, such as may
 be to Gods Honour, and the good of the Common-
 wealth, we shall be very much blame-worthy.

Major General *Harrison* spake thus, I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, as to the Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties is very necessary; that so the Mercies which the Lord hath given us may not be cast away: But how this may be done is the great Question.

L. Whitlock. It is a great Question indeed, and is suddenly to be resolved; yet it were a pity that the meeting of so many able and worthy Persons, as I am here, should be fruitless; and I would humbly offer in the first place, whether it be not requisite to understand in what way this Settlement is desired, whether by an absolute Republick, or with a mixture of Monarchy.

General Cromwel. My Lord Commissioner *Whitlock* hath put it upon the right Point, and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider whether a Republick, or a mixt Monarchical Government will be best settled, and if any thing Monarchical, then in whom that Power shall be placed.

Sir Tho. Widdrington. I think a mixt Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation, and if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the late King.

Lieut. Gen. Fleetwood. I think that Question, whether an absolute Republick, or a mixt Monarchy be best to be settled in this Nation, will not very easily be determined.

L. C. J. St. John. It will be found that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchical Power, will be very difficult to be settled, and not to shake the Foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

Mr. William Lenthall. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

Coll. Desborough. I beseech you, my Lord, what

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L. Commissioner *Whitlock*. The Laws of England
are so interwoven with the Power, and Practice of
Monarchy, that to settle a Government without some-
thing of Monarchy in it, would breed so great an al-
teration in the proceedings of our Law, that you will
scarce find time to rectify; nor can any well foresee
the inconveniencies that will arise thereby.

Coll. *Whaley*. I do not understand matters of Law,
but it seems to me the best way, not to have any
thing of Monarchical Power in the Settlement of our
Government; and if we should resolve upon any,
whom should we pitch upon? The King's eldest Son
has been in Arms against us, and his second Son is
our Enemy.

Sir Tho. *Widdrington*. But the late King's third Son
the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too
young to have been in Arms against us, or infected
with the Principles of our Enemies.

L. *Whitlock*. There may be a day given for the King's
eldest Son, or for the Duke of York his Brother, to
come in to the Parliament, and upon such Terms as
shall be thought fit and agreeable both to our Civil
and Spiritual Liberties, and a Settlement may be
made upon them.

Gen. *Cromwel*. This will be a business of more than
ordinary difficulty; but really I think, if it may be
done with safety, and preservation of our Rights,
as Englishmen and Christians, that a Settlement
somewhat of Monarchical Power would be very
seasonable.

So that it seems the Military Men were for an Ab-
solute Commonwealth, the Lawyers for a mixt Mo-
narchy, and many for the Duke of Gloucester to be
King: But some imagine that Cromwel design'd him-
self to be the Person, and by this Conference sounded
the Inclinations of these Gentlemen; so the Compa-
ny parted without any result at all. By which it ap-

pears, to be far easier to subvert an ancient Government than to erect a new one in the place thereof.

In February following the Duke of Gloucester being sent to his Mother into France, Cromwel had long Discourse with L. Commissioner Whitlock, concerning the danger of a victorious Army lying in Peace, which usually occasioned murmuring, not being rewarded according to their Deserts; And that the Army were much disgusted with the Parliament for their Pride, Ambition, Self-seeking, and ingrossing all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and Friends; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Factions; their delays in Business and design to perpetuate themselves; their meddling in private matters; and the scandalous Lives of some of the chief of them, so that unless there were some Authority so full and high, as to restrain and keep things in better Order, and that might put a stop to these Exorbitancies, it would be impossible in humane Reason to prevent the utter Ruine of the Nation.

The L. Whitlock in answer hereunto, represented the difficulty of reforming the Parliament, he being subordinate to them, and that he hoped the greater part of the Members were not such as he had represented them.

Cromwel replies. My Lord, There is little hope of a good Settlement from them, really there is not, but a great deal of Fear that they will destroy again what the Lord hath so graciously done for them and us. We all forget God and God will forget us, and give us up to Confusion; and these Men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways; some course must be taken to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.

L. Whitlock answered. We our selves, have owned them the Supream Power, and taken our Commission

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from them, and how to restrain them after this, will be hard to find out.

Cromwel. What if a Man should take upon him to be King?

Whitlock. I think the Remedy worse than the Disease.

Cromwel. Why do you think so?

Whitlock replied. That as to his own Person the Title of King would be no advantage, because he had the Kingly Power in him already; for as to the Militia, as he was General, all Officers which he nominated were seldom refused, and tho' he had no Negative voice in passing Laws, yet what he disliked did not easily pass; and that he had Power to dispose of the Money raised by Taxes, and for Foreign Affairs, and tho' the Parliament had the Ceremonial part, the Expectation of Success depended on his Excellency, to whom Foreign Ministers particularly Addressed themselves. So that there was less Envy and Danger, but not less real opportunity of doing good in his being General, than if he should assume the Title of King. That it would also be dangerous to take it, since the main Controversie between him and his Adversaries was, whether to establish a Monarchy or a Free State, and that most of his Friends had engaged with him, and undergone all their hazards and difficulties for settling a Commonwealth; but if he should take on him the Title of King, the Question would be no longer, Whether the Government should be by a Monarchy or a Free State, but whether *Cromwel* or *Stuart* should be King. That his Excellency was surrounded with secret Enemies, and that the Officers of the Army, many of whom were of turbulent and busy Spirits, and who by the Successes they had gained with him, accounted themselves all Victors, were not without their Designs how to dismount him, that some of them might get to the Saddle, and that they wanted not Counsel and Encouragement herein from some Members of Par-

liament, who were jealous of his Power and Greatness, fearing he should in time overmaster them, and so were willing to clip his Wings.

Cromwel thanked *Whitlock* for his Advice, and asked him, what were his Thoughts for preventing the impending Mischiefs.

Whitlock advised him to make a private Treaty with *Charles II.* King of *Scots*, who in the Condition he was in, would give his Excellency sufficient security for making himself and Posterity as great and permanent in humane probability, as any Subject could desire. He likewise might provide for his Friends, and fully secure all Spiritual and Civil Liberties. At this *Cromwel* seem displeased, and broke off the Discourse, and his Carriage to *Whitlock* from that time was altered,

The three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, being wholly subdued by the Republicans, an Act of Oblivion passed for pardoning all former Crimes, chiefly procured by *Cromwel* to ingratiate himself with the Vanquished Royalists. And now the Army seem much discontented, objecting that the Parliament appropriated all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and Friends; and earnestly desire, that at length an end might be put to their sitting to make way for a new Representative chosen by the People and for reforming the Laws. The Parliament grown grave by long Possession, would not appear fearful of their own Servants and Souldiers, and so bid them mind their own affairs, and obey their Order, to whom the care of the Commonwealth was committed, and so make no Tumults, since they who had plucked him from his Throne, wanted neither Resolution nor Force to reduce them to their Obedience, though milder Courses were more agreeable to them.

The Souldiers reply, That they were not Mercenary Men, neither had taken up Arms only in prospect of Pay, but for recovering the Publick Liberty, and

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not to boast of putting the King to Death, since they
could never have effected it, had not they been sup-
ported and encouraged by their Swords and Courage.
The Parliament being moved with these Reproaches
the Army, resolve to make an Act for disband-
ing part of them, and the remainder to receive but
half Pay, and to be Cantoned in several Places through-
out the Nation, to prevent the publick Charge, to
hinder all attempts of the Royalists, and take
from their own Souldiers all Opportunities of mak-
ing Innovations. The Officers of the Army were
much disturbed hereat, refusing to be disbanded, and
frame a Petition, wherein they declare their Reso-
lution, not to lay down their Arms, before the Rem-
nant of the long Parliament were dissolved, and a
Representative lawfully called; and that for Expe-
dition, some of the Officers of the Army as Com-
missioners, should be admitted into the House. This
the Parliament were obliged to condescend to, and 12
of each Party met about the Proposals; but they
not agreeing upon the manner and form of the new
Government, the Parliament think it safest that new
Members should be chosen in place of those that died
or were turned out; which they instantly agreed to
and enacted, tho' the Night before they had private-
ly promised the contrary to several chief Officers, and
that they would model a new Representative.

So soon as Cromwel heard this, he hastned to the
Parliament House, April 23. 1653, with M. General
Harrison, Fleetwood, and 7 or 8 Officers more, or-
dering ten or twelve Souldiers to stand at the door:
and being entred, spake to this purpose; You have
sufficiently imposed upon the People, and provided
for your selves and Relations, by sitting here under
pretence of settling the Commonwealth, reforming the
Laws, and promoting the publick good; whilst in
the mean time you have invaded the Wealth of the
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State, and have thrust your selves and Friends into all Offices of Profit and Honour to feed your own Luxury and Impiety, then stamping with his Foot which was a signal to the Soldiers without, for shame said he, get you gone, and give place to honest Men that will more faithfully discharge their Trust. But while all surprized with Consternation held their Tongues, one had the boldness to tell him, It suited with his Excellencies Justice to brand them all promiscuously without any proof of a Crime. At which being a little more heated, taking hold of one by the Cloke, *Thou art a Whore Master*, says he, And another *Thou art an Adulterer*, To a third, *Thou art a Glutton* and to a fourth, *Thou art an Extortioner*. Upon which they all began to move, some by fear or force, others murmuring, but the Speaker not rising readily out of the Chair, Harrison lent him his hand, and gently lifted him out. Cromwel also ordered that Bauble, which he called the Mace, to be taken away, and commanded the Parliament to be dissolved, to the general satisfaction of most People, who were tired out with their dilatory proceedings. When the Members were all departed, the Doors were lockt up, and Guards set upon them, and all the Avenues, to prevent their return. And thus was this mighty Parliament dissolved or dismissed, after 12 years sitting, and after having transacted so many great Affairs, and this without any opposition or disturbance, their Authority transferred into the hands of the Soldiers, and their Names publicly reproached and villified. But to satisfy the Nation, Cromwel and his Council of Officers published a Declaration the next day, of the Reasons of their Proceedings, wherein they gave an account of the great Successes wherewith the Army had been blest, which they hoped would have procured the Settlement of the Nation both in Spiritual and Civil matters; but the Parliament making little Progress therein, the good People of the Land applied themselves to the Army, to move them to pro-

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ceed' vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the Commonwealth, and setting it upon a foundation of Justice and Righteousness, who tho' they were unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority, yet were at length prevailed upon to Petition them to call a new Parliament, but there appeared among them a corrupt Party, who shewed much bitterness and opposition to the People of God, and the Godly Party in Parliament, and were of no use but to countenance their ill Practices, who designed to fill up their House and perpetuate themselves in the Government, and to hinder the true Election of Successive Parliaments, whereby the Laws might be reformed, Justice impartially administred, and the People in time might forget Monarchy. For preventing these pernicious designs whereby the Interest of all honest Men, and the glorious Cause would at one Blow have been laid in the Dust, and the Nation imbroiled in new troubles they were necessitated, (tho' with much reluctancy) to put an end to this Parliament, which they had done out of an honest heart, preferring the Cause above their Names, Families, Lives and Interest, how dear soever; with real purpose of heart to call to the Government, Persons of approved Fidelity and honesty from several parts of the Commonwealth, thereby to obtain the Fruits of a Just and Righteous Reformation so long prayed for, wisht for, and panted after by all good Men, &c.

Signed at Whitehall, in the Name of his Excellency, the Lord General Cromwel, and Council of Officers, April 22. 1653.

This Declaration was followed by another, that all Officers Civil and Military should continue in their several Places, and Act therein as fully as when the Parliament was sitting, and that a Council of State should be constituted, for managing the Affairs of the Commonwealth, till a Parliament should be called.

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The Hollanders hoped to reap Advantage from these Revolutions, but were mistaken, the Naval Affairs being managed with as much Application as before, as they soon felt to their cost; for the Dutch having a great Fleet of Merchant-ships Outward-bound durst not venter thro' the Channel, but with a Fleet of 90 Men of War, Conveyed them by the North of Scotland toward the Sound, and there met with another Fleet of Merchant-men homeward bound, from Russia, East-India, and France, whom they brought home safe, and hearing the English Fleet was Northwards, came into the Downs, taking two or three small Vessels, and made some shot into Dover Town, boasting the English Fleet was lost, and that they would send a Hue and Cry after them, when on a sudden, the English Navy arrived from the North, and came into Yarmouth Road.

June 1. being at Anchor in Sole-Bay, they discovered two Dutch Galliot-Hoys, to whom chase was given till the whole Dutch Fleet was discovered, but the Weather proving dark, they lost sight of them.

June 3. our Fleet being at Anchor off the Guber, discovered the Enemy two Leagues to the Leeward, being 100 sail, and weigh'd toward them; about Noon both Fleets were engaged for some hours very sharply, in the Evening the Dutch bore right away before the wind. Next day they engaged again, and after four hours dispute the Hollanders would have got away, but the wind freshing Westerly, the English bore in so hard among them, that they took 11 Men of War, 2 water Hoys, 6 Captains, 1500 Prisoners, and sunk 6 Men of War more, the rest escaped by the darkness of the Night and the Flatts. The English lost Dean, one of their Admirals, who was kill'd with a great shot the first day, with one Captain and 150 Men more, and 246 wounded, but not one Ship was lost. The English were much encouraged by Blakes coming in during the Fight with 16 stout Men of war. The Dutch having in the Night got into the Weallings, the

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the Flye and Texel, the English sail as near the Coast as was safe, where they lay for some time, taking many Prizes, to the great Damage of the Hollanders, whose Ships could neither go in or out from any one of their Ports, to join together to oppose them.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers, having concluded of the qualifications of the next Parliament, and made a List of those Persons in England, Scotland and Ireland, to whom they design'd to commit the Legislative power, Warrants were issued out for them to appear at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, July 4 1653.

The Persons summoned to the number of 144 met accordingly, where Cromwel made a Speech to them recounting the continued Series of Providence, by which God had appeared in carrying on this Cause, since the famous Victory at Worcester, and the actions of the Army thereupon, after divers applications to the Parliament, with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving, which he declared to be for the preservation of this Cause, and the Interest of all honest men engaged therein. He then told them of the clearness of the Call given to the Members then present, to take upon them Supream Authority, and from the Scriptures exhorted them to their duty, desiring that a Tenderness might be used toward all conscientious Persons of what Judgment soever.

Cromwel then produced an Instrument under his own hand and Seal, whereby he devolved the Supream Authority and Government of the Commonwealth, into the hands of the Persons there met, who, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the Supream Authority of the Nation, unto whom all persons within the same were to yield obedience and subjection, and that they should sit no longer than Nov. 3. 1654. and three months before their dissolution, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed

succced them, who were not to sit above twelve Months, and then to provide for a Succession of Government, which Instructions being delivered them the General with his Officers withdrew. From thence the Members adjourned to the Parliament House at Westminster, and first considered what Title to take to themselves, and after threee days debate, resolved they would be called, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and chose Mr. Rous their Speaker.

About this time John Lilburn, banished by an Act of the last Parliament, for certain Crimes he was charged with, took occasion upon this change of Government to return into England, and cast himself upon Gen. Cromwel, craving his Protection in several publick Addresses, who declining to meddle in this Affair, left him to the Law, and he was committed to Newgate, and the next Sessions being brought to the Old Baily, he first demanded Council, which was granted him: Next day he refused to put in his Plea, unless he might have a Copy of his Indictment, which was likewise admitted. Next day he delivered in his Bill of Exceptions to this Indictment; after that he demanded a Copy of the Judgment given against him in Parliament, together with the Act: Then he joined Issue, and made his defence for several hours, and about 12 at Night the Jury brought him in not Guilty, but he was sent back to Newgate, and thence to the Tower, where he continued some time, and then turned Quaker, and dying soon after, was buried from the Bull and Mouth Meeting-Place near Aldersgate, with a numerous Company of that Party attending him to his Grave.

In Scotland at this time, the English had taken most of their strong Towns, Forts and Castles, in the Low-lands, yet the Highlanders made IncurSIONS, robbing and killing many, returning to their inaccessible Fastnesses, where they could not be perswaded, being commanded by the Lords Glencarn, Athol, Seaforth

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with, and others; the last of whom sent a Summons to a Ship that lay at Anchor at Lewi-Island, (having before surprized 7 or 8 Men that went Ashoar for Provisions) to deliver up the Vessel for the Kings Service.

But the Captain did not think fit to obey his Summons, sailing away and leaving his Men behind. Thus they continued expecting Supplies of Men from Gen. Middleton, and the Low-Countries; but a Party under Glencarn were defeated, himself hardly escaping, and several other Parties, so that they could not join. At length Middleton arrived from Holland with the expected Provisions and a Commission to be General, and Monroe to be Lieut. General; which so incensed Glencarn, that he who had imployed his utmost interest in raising men, must now be commanded by others, that they quarrelled, Glencarn was contented to be L. Gen. but Monroe would not agree to it, so a Duel was fought, in which Monroe being wounded and disarmed, deserted the Service with about 500 Gentlemen, and agreed with the Governour of Dunbarton to live peaceably at Home; others did the like, yet Middleton stood out still, till first in Argyle, and then at Loughbary, he was by Gen. Monk, and Coll. Morgan, wholly overthrown, and then returned to Holland. The Assembly of the Kirk was likewise dissolved by Coll. Morgan, and the Clergy subjected.

Ireland was by the English Arms brought to such a condition, as there was no fear of Disturbance, only a few Tories kept some inaccessible places, and made Irruptions to Steal and Plunder. An High Court of Justice was erected there, of which Cook was President, by whom many Irish and some of their ancient Nobility, were sentenced and executed for the bloody Massacre in 1641. about 14000 were sold to the King of Spain, and many transported into other Countries, the rest being driven into the Province of Connaught, out of which upon Pain of Death they were not to stir without leave. The other three Provinces Ulster, Munster.

Munster, and Denster, were allotted to the English, and all forfeited Lands divided among such Adventurers as had advanced Money for the Irish Affairs, and for satisfaction of the Soldiers Arrears. Fleetwood succeeded Ireton as L. Governour of Ireland by the order of Cromwel, he having married his Eldest Daughter Bridget, the Widow of the deceased Ireton.

The Hollanders finding little Advantage by the War, sent four Commissioners to begin a Treaty, but there was no Cessation of Arms; so a remarkable Battle happened between the two Navies, July 29. 1666. The Scots discovered a Dutch Fleet from the Westings of 95 Men of War, upon which the English made what sail they could after them, which the Enemy perceiving, stood away; yet about 5 in the Evening, near 30 of the English engaged, the rest of the Fleet being a-stern, so that they bore the whole brunt of the Fight till Night parted them. The Dutch sent away their maimed Ships in the Night, and got by with their whole Fleet in order to join 29 Sail more in the Texel, which the English could not prevent because of the foul Weather. Next morning the Dutch with these new Recruits fell upon the English Fleet; they fought courageously from five in the morning till one afternoon, both Fleets passing thro' and endeavouring to bure, sink, and destroy each other. At length the Dutch went off, with the loss of some Ships either sunk or burnt: The Garland a stout Man of War, taken formerly by the Dutch, was burnt by the Worcester: The Triumph and the Andrew were boarded by three Dutch Fire-ships, and had some damage in their Sails, but were quickly cleared. The Dutch declining, made away directly for the Texel, and the English being somewhat disabled, and not daring to venture too near the Holland Coast, the whole Fleet sail'd for Sole-Bay. The English Admirals in this Fight were Gen. Blake and Gen. Monk; Pen was Vice-Admiral, and Lawson Rear-Admiral.

Admiral. When Monk with the English Fleet set
 sail, and stood out to Sea, the Dutch supposed they
 fled for Fear, which made one of the Captains desire
 Van Trump to pursue; 'For, saith he, these Skel-
 lums dare not stand one broad side from your Ex-
 cellency, you may see them plainly running home,
 and therefore, my Lord, miss not the opportunity.
 Van Trump, who understood better, gave this short
 reply. 'Sir look to your Charge, for were the Ene-
 my but 20 sail, they would never refuse to fight us;
 the English had 300 slain, whereof 7 were Captains,
 and 700 wounded, five of them Captains. The Dutch
 had about 30 Ships sunk and burnt, and their Re-
 owned Admiral Van Trump was slain in the Fight,
 and out of the Dutch maimed Ships that lay floating
 in the Sea, the English took six Captains and 1000
 other Prisoners. This was the bloodiest Engagement
 that had yet happened between the two Nations, and
 for their Valour and Conduct the Parliament ordered
 Gold Chins to be given to Blake, Monk, Pen and
 Lawson, as a mark of their Favour, and other Chains
 were bestowed on the Flag Captains and Medals of
 Silver to the Officers of the Fleet. It was after known
 by Letters from Holland, that they lost 6000 Men
 in this Battle.

The Parliament having sate above five Months, in
 which they made several Acts, one for Marriages be-
 fore a Justice of Peace, another for relief of Prison-
 ers, another against the High Court of Chancery, ano-
 ther for a Tax of 6 months at 120000*l.* per month,
 length were consulting of an Act for taking away
 Bishops, a Committee was appointed to consider of
 the matter, who brought in their Report Dec. 10.
 1643. That they thought it convenient that Com-
 missioners be sent into all the Countreies, and enabled
 to eject scandalous and unable Ministers, and also
 to empower'd to settle able Ministers in all void
 places; That such as are, or shall be approved for
 Publick Preachers of the Gospel, shall have and en-
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joy such maintenance as is already settled by Law
that upon hearing and considering what hath been
offered to the Committee touching propriety
Tythes, it is their Opinion that they have a Law
propriety in them.

The Parliament having spent several days upon the
report, put the Question, Whether the House do
agree with the Committee, which was carried in the
Negative; whereupon several heats and divisions
rose; So Dec. 12. a Gentleman moved, ' That the
sitting of the Parliament as then Constituted, would
not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and
that it was requisite to deliver up to the L. Gen.
Cromwel the powers they received from him. This
motion being seconded by others, the House rose
and the speaker Mr. Rouse, with the Majority of
the Members, did by a Writing under their hands
resign their powers to General Cromwel, at White
Hall, by their Speaker, who thanked them for the
pains they had taken for the service of the Common
wealth, tho' by a strange Spirit and perverse Prin
ciple in some of the Members, they had missed of
their good Intentions. Some of the Members contin
ued still sitting in the House, to whom Coll. Whit
was sent with a Guard of Souldiers, and required
them in the Name of the General to depart, for the
Parliament was dissolved, who replying that they
were upon Business, and ought not to be interrupted,
he at length compelled them to leave the House tho'
unwilling.

The Parliament having thus resigned the power gi
ven them, the whole Authority, both Civil and Mili
tary of the three Nations, was devolved into the hands
of O. Cromwel, who calling a Council of Officers,
with some others, to consult of the Settlement of the
Government, they resolved to have a Commonwealth
in a single Person: That the Person should be Oliver
Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces in Eng
land, Scotland and Ireland, alledging, That it was
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Monarchy which was quarrell'd at, but the Male Administration and Abuses therein, by its prerogative being unlimited and arbitrary; all which would be avoided by circumscribing it in a Protector and his Council, a new Instrument of Government, and the preëminence power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom during their sitting, the Sovereign Authority should reside. In pursuance whereof, a Council was appointed him to consist of twenty.

And the Instrument of Government designed to be the Foundation of this new Settlement, was to this effect.

* That the Title of O. Cromwel should be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: That all proceedings shall run in the Name and stile of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices, and Titles to be derived from him: That he may pardon all Offences but Treason and Murder: That the Militia, during the Parliament, shall be in his and their hands, but in the intervals only in his and his Councils; That he and his Council may make War and Peace with Foreign Princes: No new Laws to be made, nor old ones abrogated, without consent of Parliament: A Parliament to be call'd within 6 months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent of Parliament till after five Months: The Parliament of English to consist of 400, to be chosen by more equal distributions in Countries and Burroughs: Of Scotch 30 to be elected, and of Ireland as many: The Writs for Election to pass under the Seal of the Commonwealth to the Sheriffs, and if the Protector omit or deny it, then the Commissioners of the Seal shall be obliged, under pain of High Treason, to issue out such Writs; and in case of failure in them, the High Sheriffs then do it. That such

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 The History of
 as are elected be returned into the Chancery :
 the Sheriff, Mayor or Bayliff, make a false Return
 or any way procure an undue Election, he shall
 fined 2000 l. That none who have borne Arms
 gainst the Parliament, Irish Rebels or Papists, shall
 be capable of being Elected, and in case they be
 lected, to forfeit two years Revenue, and three
 parts of their Goods : None are to be elected un-
 der the Age of 21 years, nor unless he be a Man of
 good conversation : None to have Vores in Election
 not worth 200 l. That sixty shall make a Quorum
 The Protector, if need be, may call Parliaments in
 the Intervals of the Triennial ones : These Bills
 they make to be offered to the Protector, who refus-
 sing to sign them in 20 days, they are to pass into
 Acts without his consent. The Protector, with ad-
 vice of his Council, in case of Death or Breach of
 Trust, is to substitute new Privy Councillors :
 A competent Revenue shall be settled for maintain-
 ing 10000 Horse and 15000 Foot, and the Navy
 not to be altered or lessened without the advice
 of the Council, and upon the disbanding of
 them, the Money to be brought into the Exche-
 quer for sudden occasions : No new Taxes nor
 Laws to be made without consent in Parliament :
 All forfeited Lands unfold to belong to the Protec-
 tor : The Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal
 Family to be excluded : O. Cromwel to be present
 Protector : All the great Offices of the Common-
 wealth, such as Chancellor, &c. if they become
 void in Parliament time, to be supplied by their
 approbation, or in intervals of Parliament, with the
 approbation of the Council. The Christian Religi-
 on as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, to be
 the publick profession of the Nation, and those that
 administer in it to be maintained by the publick, but
 by some way more convenient, and less liable to en-
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Instrument whatever, but only by Persuasion and Arguments: None that profess Faith in Jesus Christ are to be prohibited the exercise of their Religion, provided he do not disturb others, except the Papists and Prelatists, who are debar'd that License: All Sales of Estates, made by Parliament, and all Articles of War to be made good: And lastly, the Protector and his Successor, upon entering that Charge, to swear to procure, by all means, the peace, quiet and welfare of the Commonwealth, to observe these Articles, and to administer all things in his power, according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs of England.

Dec. 16. 1653. The Protector came from Whitehall to the Chancery Court at Westminster, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges in their Robes, the Council of the Commonwealth, the L. Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of London, in their Scarlet Gowns, and many of the chief Officers of the Army. A Chair of State being set, the Protector stood on the left hand uncovered, till the Instrument was read, which he subscribed in the Face of the Court, and then swore to perform as follows:

I promise in the Presence of God not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed: and all things to the best of my understanding, will govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs, and will seek their Peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administered.

He then sat down covered in the Chair, and the Lords Commissioners delivered him the Great Seal of England, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, which he returned: Then the Court rose, and the Protector was attended back as before to the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, the L. Mayor bare-headed carrying the Sword before him, where

an Exhortation being made by one of his Chaplains the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed. And thus was the Protector confirmed in his High Dignity, tho' many of his former Admirers were discontented thereat. But to command obedience, the Council emitted the following Proclamation, which was published in England, Scotland and Ireland.

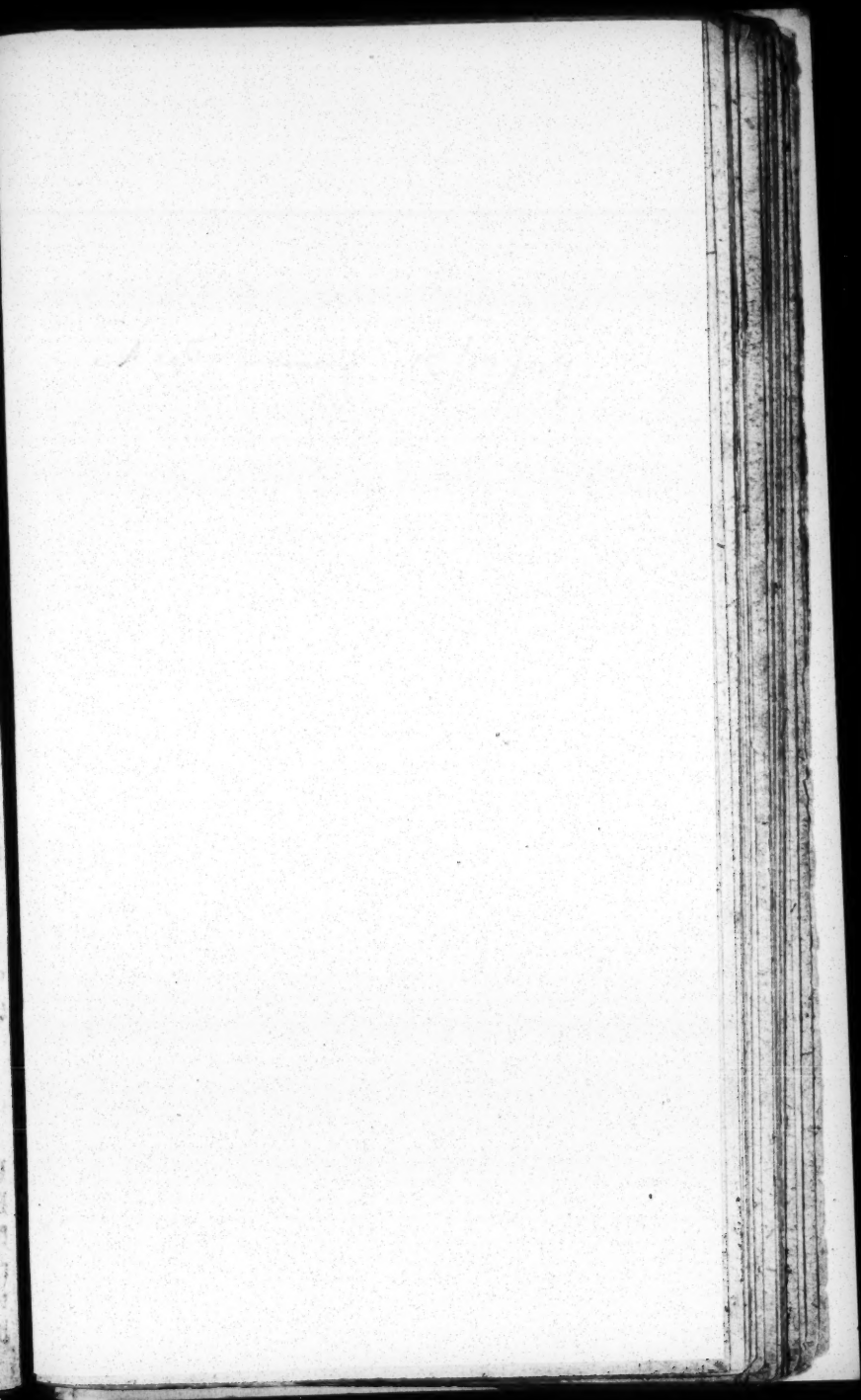
WHEREAS the late Parliament dissolved themselves and resigned their Powers and Authorities; the Government by a Lord Protector, and successive elective Parliaments is now established: And whereas Oliver Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof, We do therefore make Publication of the Premises, and strictly charge and command all Persons whatsoever, in the three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and subject themselves to the Government so established: And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, that none may have cause to pretend Ignorance in this behalf.

The Protector being advanced to this Supreme Dignity, Addresses were presented to him, and the Poets of that Age were not wanting in magnifying him and his Actions. Among others Edmund Waller Esq; the English Virgil, hath giv'd him in the following Elegant Panegyrick,

*To his Highness OLIVER Lord
Protector, &c.*

WHILE with a strong and yet a gentle hand
You bridle Faction and our Hearts command,
Protect us from our selves and from our Foe;
Make us Unite and make us Conquer too;
Let partial Spirits still aloud complain,
Think themselves injur'd that they cannot Reign;

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ve by a Fate indulgent to your Fame,
 en from all Ages kept for you to name;
 hom the old Roman Wall so ill confia'd,
 ith a new Chain of Garrisons you bind:
 re Foreign Gold no more shall make them come,
 r English Iron, holds them fast at home;
 ey that henceforth must be content to know
 o warmer Region than their Hills of Snow;
 ay blame the Sun, but must extol your Grace,
 hich in our Senate hath allow'd them place;
 efer'd by Conquest, happily ore'thrown,
 illing they rise, to be with us made One.
 kind Dictators made, when they came home,
 heir vanquisht Foes, Free Citizens of Rome.
 ke favour find the Irish, with like Fate
 vanc'd to be a Portion of our State.
 hilst by your Valour and obliging mind,
 ations divided by the Sea are join'd:
 olland to gain our Friendship is content
 o be our Outguard on the Continent;
 e from her Fellow Provinces would go,
 ither than hazard to have You her Foe.
 our late Fight, when Cannon did disuse
 reventing Posts) the Terror, and the News.
 ur Neighbours they did tremble at the roar,
 ut our Conjunction makes them tremble more.
 our never failing Sword made War to cease
 ad now you heal us with the Arts of Peace,
 ur Minds with Bounty and with Awe ingage,
 vite affection, and restrain our Rage;
 els pleasure take brave Minds in Battles won
 hen in restoring such as are undone;
 ggers have Courage, and the ragged Bear,
 at Man alone can when he Conquers, spare;
 o pardon willing, and to punish both,
 ou strike with one hand, but You heal with both,
 fting up all that prostrate lye, You grieve
 ou cannot make the Dead again to live.

When Fate or Error had our Rage misled,
 And o're these Nations such confusion spread,
 The only cure that could from Heav'n come down
 Was so much Power and Clemency in one;
 One whose Extraction from a noble Line,
 Gives hopes again that well-born Men may shine
 The meanest, in your Nature, Mild and Good,
 The noblest, rest secured in your Blood,
 Much have we wondered, how you hid in Peace
 A mind proportioned to such things as these.
 How such a ruling Spirit you could constrain
 And practice first over your self to reign;
 Your private Life did a just pattern give
 How Fathers, Husbands, Pious Men should Live
 Born to Command, your Princely Vertue slept,
 Like humble David whilst the Flock he kept;
 But when your troubled Country call'd you forth
 Your flaming Courage and your Matchless worth,
 Dazling the Eyes of all that did pretend
 To fierce Contention gave a prosperous end:
 Still as you rise the State exalted too,
 Finds no distemper whilst 'tis chang'd by you.
 Chang'd like the World's great Scene, when with
 The rising Sun, Nights vulgar light destroys: (O
 Had you some Ages past this Race of Glory
 Run, with amazement we should read the Story;
 But living Vertue, (All Atchievements past)
 Meets envy still to grapple with at last,
 This Cæsar found and that ungrateful Age,
 Which losing him, fell back to bloud and Rage.
 Mistaken Brutus thought to break their Yoak
 But cut the Bond of Union with that Stroke;
 That Sun once set, a thousand meaner Stars,
 Gave a dim Light to Violence and Wars:
 'Twas such a Tempest as now threatens all,
 Did not your mighty Arm prevent the fall.
 If Rome's great Senate could not wield the Sword
 Which of the conquer'd World had made them Lord
 What hope had Ours, whilst yet your Power was
 To Rule Victorious Armies but by you;

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that had taught them to subdue their Foes
 old order, teach, and their high Spirits compose,
 every Duty could their Minds ingage,
 woke their Courage, and command their Rage :
 when a Lion shakes his dreadful main
 angry grows, if he that first took pain
 tame his Youth, approach the haughty Beast
 bends to him, but frights away the rest.
 let the Muses with such Notes as these
 trust us what belongs unto our Peace.
 our Battles they hereafter shall indite,
 and draw the Image of our Mars in Fight,
 of Towns storm'd, of Armies over-run,
 and Mighty Kingdoms by your Conquests won ;
 while you thundred, Clouds of Dust did Choak
 attending Troops, and Seas lay hid in smoak :
 glorious Acts high Raptures do infuse,
 and ev'ry Conqueror creates a Muse :
 ere in low Straits your milder Deeds we sing,
 then (my Lord) we'll Bays and Olive bring,
 crown your Head, while you in Triumph ride
 the conquer'd Nations, and the World beside ;
 while all the Neighbour Princes unto you,
 the Joseph's Sheaves, pay reverence and bow.

The Protector began his Reign with seeming severity, and when the different parties in Religion made their Complaints to him against each other, he usually told them, ' That his power was no greater in the Nation than a Constables, which was to keep peace and quietness among all parties. And pursuant to the power given him by the new Instrument, he summoned the several Courts at Westminster with the ablest Judges and Lawyers ; and the City of London, to shew their concurrence to this great change, invite the Protector to Dinner at Grocer's Hall, Feb. 8. being Wednesday, the Streets were railed to Temple-bar, the Liverymen standing in their Gowns ; he was met at Temple-bar by Alderman Vyner Lord-Mayor, who

delivered him the Sword, and received it again; he bore it on Horse-back bare-headed before him at the way. After a noble Entertainment he was served with a Banquet; in the Conclusion whereof he Knighted Sir Tho. Vyner, and would have done the same to the Recorder Steel but he declined it.

The Hollanders being weary of the Wars, which they had maintained with little Success, and great cost, send Commissioners to treat with the Protector for a Peace between both Nations. But Cromwell knowing the potency of Holland above the rest, with their Aversion to the House of Orange, he secretly treated with Beverning, That if the Province of Holland would sign a private Article to exclude the House of Orange, he would be content to proceed in a Treaty of Peace; and at length the States of Holland and West-Frisland were forced to make a Decree, That they would never Elect his Royal Highness William Prince of Orange (our late gracious Sovereign, then but three Years Old) or any of his Lineage, to be Stadtholder or Admiral of the Province; nor, that he or any of this Family should be Captain General of the Forces of the United Provinces. This ingrateful and unrighteous Decree against that glorious Family, which had saved them from utter ruin, and made them the High and Mighty States, was too well perform'd, till some Years after, the recalling it again was the principal means under God, of preserving them from the impending destruction of their Republick by the French Arms. So at length Peace was concluded both with the Dutch and the King of Denmark; The Hollanders to pay the Charge of the War, money being very necessary in this new Government; and in April was proclaimed in London, the two Dutch Ambassadors making magnificent Treatments and Fireworks to demonstrate their satisfaction therein.

The Protector now sends his eldest Son Henry into Ireland, of which he was made Lord Deputy, and

Gen. Monk who was sent to the Q. of James from the Treaty with France. In March sent Ambassador and Sir Anthony Strickland the Protector abroad as well as the French Commissioners his own and the Treaty of Peace. Cromwell professed that if the States must be obliged to an honourable stay till he was the King with his Cousins Prince of Orange, a House of the King and indeed it happened Articles of That none reside in the Tower. In February, Sir William Vowel a Secretary of the Court of Justice design the Lord and Mr. Vowel expressly directed on the head of the Cold, but

Gen. Monk was sent into Scotland. The L. Whitlock who was sent Ambassador, by the last Parliament, to the Q. of Sweden, had a new Commission sent him from the Protector, in whose name he continued the Treaty with that Crowne, and afterward finished it. In March following, Monsieur Bordeaux was sent Ambassador to England from the French King, and Sir Ant. Ashy Cooper, Coll. Sydenham, and Mr. Strickland, were appointed Commissioners by the Protector to treat with him, so that he was own'd abroad as well as at home. King Charles was then in the French Court, who finding that notwithstanding his own and his Mother's endavours to the contrary, the Treaty between France and England was vigorously prosecuted by Card. Mazarine, and foreseeing that if the Peace were concluded, he and his party must be obliged to depart France, he thought it more honourable voluntarily to leave that Kingdom than to stay till he were forced out by a Complement; so the King with his Brother the Duke of York, and his Cousins Prince Rupert and Edward, retired to Chastillon, a House of the Prince of Conde's, from whence the King and P. Rupert went into Germany, and indeed it happened as they suspected, for one of the Articles of the French King with the Protector was, That none of the Royal Family of England should reside in the Dominions of France.

In Febr. 1654. several Persons were committed to the Tower about a Conspiracy against the Protector, namely, Sir Gilb. Gerrard, Coll. John Gerrard his Brother, the E. of Oxford, Mr. Philip Porter, Mr. Vowel a School-Master at Mlington; and an High Court of Justice being erected, they were charg'd to design the Assassination of the Protector. So Col. Gerrard and Mr. Vowel, were sentenced to be hanged, Mr. Vowel at Charing Cross, and Coll. Gerrard who expressly denied the Intention of the Fact, was beheaded on Tower-Hill. With him upon the same Scaffold, but not upon the like account, suffered Don

Pantalion Sa, Brother to the Portugal Ambassador then Resident in England, who upon conceits he had received some affront on the New Exchange in the Strand, came thither one evening with a Crew of Lacquies and Servants armed with Pistols, Swords, and Hand Granadoes, and firing a Pistol, killed one Mr. Greenway, standing quietly at a Stall, and had done further mischief, if this Coll. Gerrard had not stopt their fury, and with his Sword drawn, drove them all down Stairs. Upon hearing the matter, the Protector resolved the murderers should suffer without respect of Persons, and tho' the Person that committed the Murder was a Knight of Malta, and had made his escape; yet this Nobleman and the rest being accessaries, he and four of the Ambassadors Servants were tried and found guilty, with an Irish Youth. Don Pantalion was beheaded with Col. Gerrard, the Irish Boy was hanged at Tyburn, and the other four pardoned; and peace being after concluded with the King of Portugal, the Ambassador sorrowfully departed.

In the same Month a Ship fell accidentally on fire on Southwark side, as she lay at Anchor, which being cut away, was driven by the Tide upon a shelf near the Bridge, where she stuck, and blew up her Powder. There were 8 Persons killed, one a Draper upon his Leads by a Plank of the Ship, and had the blow been any higher, it might have endangered the Bridge it self.

Sept. 3. 1654. The Protector in pursuance of the late Instrument of Government, called a Parliament at Westminster, where there was an appearance of a number of Grave, judicious Persons, To whom he spake to this Effect; 'That there was now such a hope that few could have thought of some years ago. That before the present Government was erected every Man's heart and interest seemed divided, and there was grown up a general Contempt of God and Christ; nay the Ax was laid at the root of the Ministry, and the fifth Monarchy highly cried up,

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and there was nothing but Confusion in the Nation: a swarm of Priests and Jesuits daily arriving, and fomenting Divisions against the publick Peace; that we were engaged in a War with Portugal, France, and Holland, and the Nation was in a heap of Disorders; so that it was absolutely necessary a speedy remedy should be applied thereto; which this Government had in a great measure done, by making good Judges, settling an able Ministry, calling a free Parliament, and making a Peace with Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Portugal, and very nigh with France: So he desired them to settle Ireland, to avoid Confusion, and to lay the Top-stone of this great work of settling the Government, wherein he would willingly be a true Fellow-Servant to them.

After this Speech the Members repair to their House, and chose William Lenthall, Esq; (Speaker of the late long Parliament) to be their Speaker: But the Protector's Harangue did little edify the greatest part of them; for they instantly fall upon a strict enquiry into Cromwel's Instrument of Government; and put the Question whether the Legislative Power should be in a single Person, or a Parliament. The Officers of the Army and the rest of the Protector's party, argue strenuously, That this Instrument was the Foundation of the present Settlement, and ought not to be a Question; and one added, That if this Parliament did not confirm it, they would call another, a third and a fourth till it was done. This was as vigorously opposed by the Majority of the House; one Gentleman saying, That the Parliament could not but discern the Snares that were laid to destroy the Liberties of the People, and that as God had made him Instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one person, so he could not endure to see the Nations Liberties shackled by another, whose Right to the Government was measured out, no otherwise than by length of his Sword, which was the only

thing that imboldened him to command his Commanders. Another said, That since we were so near approaching to Monarchy, it were better to call one of the Royal Family to the Government than that Cromwel should usurp both the Sceptre and Crown.

This toucht Cromwel to the quick, so he goes in heat, and tells them, That these Debates would turn all to Confusion, that they were to build upon the Foundation of the Instrument of Government, not to overturn it. But his words not prevailing, the next morning he set a Guard upon the House of Commons and none were permitted to enter but those that would subscribe a Recognition; to be faithful to the Protector, and not to consent nor endeavour to change the Government of a single Person and a Parliament; which many of the Republicans refusing, the Protector's party within doors became near equal. But the secluded Republicans rather exasperated than subdued by this repulse, join with their Friends in the Army, and consult how to apprehend Cromwel and bring him to Tryal for his Treasons against the Commonwealth. But Cromwel discovered and prevented it by dissolving the Parliament, when they had sat just five Months.

This dissolution encouraged the most opposite parties to conspire against the Protector, that is, the sth Monarchy Men and Royalists, the first expected King Jesus, or the erecting of a fifth Kingdom; the second longed for the Restoration of King Charles and the Protector's Favours desired King Oliver, and every party manifested their impatience, yet none of them could attain their wishes, but when Oliver might afterwards, yet he thought it not safe. The Protector was not ignorant of their Designs, and resolved first to deal with the weakest, for finding this Military principle spread in the Army, he sent Gen. Harrison, Coll. Rich, Coll. Carew, and Ghartney, prisoners to remote Castles, and General

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Monk had order to seize M. Gen. Overton, and Major Bramston, Holmes and other Officers, and cashier them. Overton was sent up prisoner to the Tower, and his Regiment given to Coll. Morgan, Coll. Okey's Regiment was given to the L. Howard; Cornet now Coll. Joyce was likewise dismiss'd, having reproached Cromwel to his Face with his Services. And thus the danger from the Army was quickly suppress'd.

But the design of the Royalists or Cavaliers, would have been more formidable, had not the whole contrivance been discovered to the Protector by one Manning, who was with K. Charles in Germany, and a Spy upon all his Actions, so that Cromwel knew the rise, progress and first appearance of those in Arms against him, without being surprized, though all the Gentlemen of that party in England, were one way or other engaged, or at least privy to it, but the seizing the principal of them throughout the Kingdom a little before the Execution, frustrated the probable effects of that insurrection. The L. Mayor was sent for and acquainted with it, and the Militia settled, Skippon being made Major General: All Horse-Races forbidden, and several dissolute Persons were seized upon suspicion: Counter-plots were us'd, all sorts of Ammunition being sent down to several Gentlemen's Houses, with Letters without Names, and the Gentlemen for not discovering them secur'd. Yet notwithstanding all these discouragements, the Western Association thought themselves engag'd in honour to rise upon the day appointed, and which they had signified to K. Charles who was come from Colen to the Sea Coasts in order to have pass'd over to his Friends with the first opportunity. Accordingly March 11. 1654. a party of 200 under Sir Jos. Wagstaff, Coll. Penruddock and Grove march'd into Salisbury, where the Judges Rolls and Nicols were sitting at the Assize, and seized all their Horses, declaring the Cause of their appearance, without further

injury, or taking any money, which lay in Serjeant Maynards and other Lawyer's Chambers, promising to return and break their Fasts with the Judges Provisions, which they did, and increased their number to 400, the whole City being well affected to them. Thence they marched to Blandford, where Col. Penruddock proclaimed the King in the Market-place, and so marched Westward, Captain Butler, with two Troops of Cromwel's Horse, following at a distance in their Rear, to give them opportunity of increasing, but by the Protector's taking up so many before, very few came in, and many deserted when they saw no hopes of the number of 4000 which was promised and expected.

Coll. Penruddock finding his affairs desperate, resolved to try Devonshire and Cornwall, and about 100 of the most resolute, without staying any where, came hungry, sleepy and weary, to Southmolton in Devonshire, hoping to get away by Sea, but that night their Quarters were beaten up by Capt. Crook and some Houses forc'd, but Coll. Penruddock maintained his Quarters till he had artickled with the Captain, and then surrendred; with him were taken Coll. Jones, a Kinsman of Cromwells, Coll. Grove, and 60 other Prisoners, with 120 Horse, but Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Mr. R. Mason, Esq; Clark, and Mr. Tho. Mompellon, escaped beyond Sea, and so this Rising was suppress'd. There were some appearances of the like at Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire, at Haslhamoor in Yorkshire, and in the Counties of Montgomery and Cumberland, for which some few were executed, but those weak efforts came to nothing, and the King's Restoration which was mightily expected at this time, proved unsuccessful. After which the King discovered the Treachery of Manning upon this occasion; some Gentlemen going for England, came to Colen to take leave of the King at Colen, to whom the King wished a good Journey, and prosperity to their design, when they arrived in England, they

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were seized and examined before the Protector's Council, whether they did not speak with the King such a Day, repeating at the same time what pass between them. Advice hereof being sent the King, he recollected that none but Col. Take and Manning, who held the Candle were present at this passage: He declared the whole matter to the Colonel, who much surprized, protested his Innocency, and by the King's command went directly to Manning's Chamber, and not staying opening the door, forced it, and found him chewing of Papers, and a Packet by him newly come from Thurloe, the Protector's Secretary; at which, Manning was so astonished, he could not speak a Word. His Father was killed in the King's Service, and himself had been Secretary to the E. of Pembroke, and so was intrusted with the King's secrets. At the instance of the whole Court, the King ordered him to be shot to death, in one of the Castles of the D. of Newbourg. The Protector had drawn 4000 Foot from Ireland, and 600 Horse from Scotland, but upon quelling this Rising, they were remanded. Col. Penruddock, and Col. Grove, were beheaded, and seven other persons were hanged at Exeter.

The Protector had been long preparing for some notable enterprize, and every one fearing their own States, could not guess whether this design tended: At length, those vast preparations produced two mighty Fleets, one under Gen. Blake, which was fitted only for the Sea, and sent to the Streights; the other two months after was committed to Gen. Pen who was to take aboard him an Army under Gen. Venables. These Land Forces being about 3000, were divided into 30 sail of Men of War, but had not provisions for so great an Army; the Commanders not knowing whither nor how far they were to go.

Dec. 12. 1654. This Fleet set sail from Portsmouth directly to the Barbadoes, where the General break open

opened their Commissions, whether having a fair Wind, they arrived Jan. 29. and landed all their Men in Carriſſe Bay.

The departure of these two great Fleets, caused the King of Spain, who doubted they were design'd against him, to send the Marquess de Leda Governor of Dunkirk, into England, as Extraordinary Ambassador, to penetrate into this grand Court Secret, but having spent several days after his arrival, without receiving that satisfaction he desired, he returned back.

Whilst the Fleet was at Barbadoes, the Officers were diligent in their Charges, and caused the Shallop brought from England ready framed, to be set up, and the water Casks to be trimmed: Two Frigates are sent to St. Christophers and Nevis, to raise Men to compleat their Regiments, and form Regiments out of the Seamen to serve upon occasion. At length, they ship'd 6000 Men, and a Troop of Horse raised by the Barbadians at their own Charge, and sailing thence March 31. 1655. in 6 days arriv'd at St. Christophers, where they had a Recruit of 1300 Volunteers, most Servants to the Planters, who willingly ingaged, because their Service went on, and they might alter be as free as their Masters, so that tho' the Fleet was strengthened by seizing 20 Dutch Ships, trading there contrary to Articles, yet they were all full, tho' there were scarce provisions for half the Number, if any accident should happen. From hence they steered for Hispaniola, and April 13. 1655. came in sight of St. Domingo, the principal Town against which they chiefly designed. A Council of War being called, it was concluded, Venables should land his Forces, so next day he sent ashore 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and three days provision, about 10 Leagues West of the Town. The Souldiers were even ravish'd with hopes of the mountains of Gold they should obtain, which put universal Courage into the whole Army, so that there appear'd

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a certainty of Victory. But the General, whether by order, or to engross all to himself, soon quell'd their Expectations, making proclamation, That upon taking St. Domingo, no man shall presume to plunder either Money, Plate or Jewels, or to take or kill any tame Cattle upon pain of Death. This defeated the whole design, the Souldiers being unwilling to endanger themselves, when there was no prospect of advantage; however, they were obliged to march forward, tho' with much difficulty, passing thro' such thick Woods that they were forced to cut their way, and could not find a drop of fresh water, so that with the drought caused by the excessive heat of the Sun, which even pierced their Brains, and their discontent of mind, (for sorrow is dry) most of them were faint and disabled.

Having in two days got thro' the Woods, without opposition from the Spaniards, they at length joined Coll. Bullard's Brigade, of the three Regiments of Foot, whom Adm. Pen had landed on the side of the Bay, 2 leagues from the Town, near a River of fresh Water, being the appointed Rendezvous of the whole Body, which now consisted in 10000 Men, but most so weak as hardly able to go, much less to fight, yet being joined they marched on, not doubting but to take the Town. A Forlorn Hope of 500 Men, under Cap. Cox, the chief guide to this place advanced first, after whom followed the whole Army; being within four miles of the Town, a small party of Horse encounter the Forlorn, and in an instant force them thro' the next Regiment, which they likewise put to flight, and had slain most of them, but that the whole Army came up to their relief. After which the Spaniards marched back to their Fort in good order, and with little loss, 50 English were slain, besides Capt. Cox their Guide.

The General hereupon retreats to the River, to refresh his Men with Water, resolving once more to attempt carrying the Town, causing scaling Ladders to

be made, and two small Drakes, with a Mortar-piece to be landed from the Fleet, and convey'd by water near the Town: All things prepar'd, they march forward, some Guides undertaking to carry them a private way out of danger of the Fort, but missing it they fell into the same path, and into worse mischief than before, for the Spaniards having notice of their march by the Negroes and Mulattoes, resolv'd to entertain them in their passage, and Apr. 25. the whole Army approaching near a brick Fort, having nine Cannon, and 300 men, they were suddenly charged by a party hid among the Trees, who tho' not above 70, first fired a Volley of shot upon the Forlorn, and then flew in upon the English, already weary, and near choaked with thirst, and with their Steel Lances routed in a Moment both them and the General's Regiment, with near half the Army, who flying back into the Rear, possess'd them with such a pannick fear that every one shifted for himself, the Spaniards pursuing with great slaughter, finding no resistance but from M. Gen. Hains, who sold his Life at a dear rate, fighting in the midst of his Enemies; at length the Spaniards weary of killing, retreated with 7 English Colours. Of the English 600 were slain on the place, 300 wounded, and 200 fled into the Woods, and were knocked on the head by the Mulattoes and Negroes.

Upon this disaster, the Army that Night drew up to the Spanish Fort, and planted a Mortar against it, all things being ready for a Battery, when on a sudden the Army was commanded to draw off, and without doing any damage, marched to their old watering place the Bay, where being arrived and wanting Victuals, they were forc'd to go out in parties to fetch it some never returning, being kill'd by the Negroes, till at last they by famine, eat the Horses of their own Troop. In this miserable State they continued some days; at length it was resolv'd they should all go aboard, and in ten days they arriv'd in the chief Port

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of Jamaica, called Oristano, where they had better success, soon possessing the Town. And then the Army began to plant. This was the first planting of this gallant Island by the English, which has since grown so rich and populous; and they gained it the more easily, because at their landing it was resolved by a Council of War, that if any man turned his back to the Enemy, his bringer up should kill him: And the Spaniards having no Intelligence of their late overthrow at Hispaniola, nor suspecting any Hostility, fled at the approach of this formidable Army, with their Goods into the Woods, by a pretended Treaty with the English; parties were sent to follow them, and to kill Cattle for the Army, of which they found store without fighting, to their great relief. Soon after the Generals Pen and Venables arrived in England, and the Protector in reward of their Services, committed them both Prisoners to the Tower.

Gen. Blake who was sent to the Streights with a gallant Fleet, to scour the Seas of Turkish Pirates, who had destroyed many English Ships, first seeks them out at Sea, but not finding them resolves to go home to them, and March 10. 1655, arrives at Algiers, anchoring without the Mold, sends a Messenger to demand satisfaction of the Dey, for the Depredations committed on the English, and requiring the delivery of the Captives of our Nation. The Dey providing a large present of Beef, Mutton, and other fresh provisions alive, returns the Messenger with them, and this answer to the General; 'That the Ships and Captives already taken belonged to particular Men, and it lay not in his power to restore them without the general discontent of all his subjects; yet the English Captives should be redeemed at a reasonable price, and that if the General thought good, they would conclude a Peace, and for the future offer no Acts of Hostility, to any English Ships or Natives. This answer seeming satisfactory.

satisfactory to the General, the Captives were redeemed, and a peace concluded.

Gen. Blake sails next to Tunis, sending a Summons to the Dey, but received a disobliging answer; for having secured their Ships, as they imagined, under their Castles, they in scorn sent word, 'Here are the Castles of Goletta, and our Ships and Castles of Porto Ferino, do your worst, but do not think that we are affrighted at the sight of your Fleet. This Reply exasperated the General and Seamen, and to be reveng'd a Council of War being call'd, it was resolv'd to burn the 9 Ships in Porto Ferino, which they effected; for every Ships boat being mann'd with resolute Mariners, were sent into the Harbour to fire the Ships, whilst the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, play broad sides continually on the Castle to prevent their sinking the boats, who after a brave assault, burnt the Ships, and return only with the loss of 25 Men, and 48 wounded. This daring Action of Blake, refounded to the honour of the English Nation, as far as the grand Signiors Court at Constantinople.

About this time Christiana Queen of Sweden, to the Admiration of all Europe, resigned up the Crown and Kingdom to her Kinsman Carolus Gustavus, being contented from a mighty Princess, to put her self into the Condition of a Lady Errant, desiring only these Conditions might be granted her from her Successor: '1. That she retain a good part of her Kingdom, and the Customs to her self. 2. That she will be no Subject but absolutely free without controul. 3. That she will travel whether she pleaseth. To these Prince Charles made this reply, 'That he would not be a King without a Kingdom. 2. That he will have no Rival or Superior. 3. That he will not hazard himself about her designs abroad. However these differences were so accommodated, that she resigned her Kingdom, leaving to her self only the bear Title of Queen, but

to him both Kingdom. who had been a firm League between two Nations. Christendom he did.

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About the like to have Life together he used to quarrel, and to Motion, a Coach, by So one day ly by then Hyde Park wel himself stout Hor Oldenburgh began to the Possibility off the formerly; and driver from thence up Coat, with many br Pocker, Jaws of without served h

to him both the Title of King and possession of a Kingdom. With this new King the Lord Whitlock, who had been some time Ambassador there, concluded a firm League Offensive and Defensive between these two Nations, the Effects whereof had appeared in Christendom, had Cromwel lived much longer than he did.

The horrible Massacre committed at this time upon the Protestants in Piedmont and Savoy, by the Forces of that Duke under the Marquess of Parella, occasioned the Protector to appoint a Fast, and great Sums of Money were gathered in England, and remitted to Sir Sam. Morland for their Relief.

About this time happened an Accident that had like to have put a Period to his Protectorship and Life together. Being much troubled with the Stone he used to drink a quantity of several sorts of Liquor, and then stir up his body by some Violent kind of Motion, as riding hard on Horseback, or jolting in a Coach, by such Agitation to disburden his Bladder. So one day he and his Secretary Thurloe went privately by themselves to use this Exercise in a Coach in Hyde Park. When they were come thither, Cromwel himself got up into the Coach box, drawn by 6 stout Horses, lately presented him by the Count of Oldenburgh, a German Prince. But so soon as he began to snap his Whip, the Horses run away, and the Postilion who was to guide them, being thrown off the fore Horse, they fall a fretting, and grow unruly; and not knowing their Master, toss the new driver from his Seat upon the Pole, who falling from thence upon the ground, and being intangled in his Coat, was dragged up and down, having received many bruises, and a Pocket-pistol going off in his Pocket, his Coat was rent, and he was in the very Jaws of Death; but a Troop of Guards that waited without the Gate, hastening to his assistance, preserved his Life.

The Protector to secure himself from Insurrections, Constitutes new kind of Officers called Major Generals of Counties, dividing the Kingdom into eleven parts; for Kent and Surrey Col. Kelsey; for Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire, Col. Goff; for Wilt, Gloucester, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, Col. Desborow; for Oxfordshire, Bucks, Hartford, Cambridge, Isle of Ely, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, L. Gen. Fleetwood; for the City of London, M. Gen. Skippon; for Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick and Leicestershire, Commissary Gen. Whaley; for Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, and Huntingdon, Maj. Butler; for Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and North Wales, Col. Berry; for Cheshire, Stafford and Lancashire, Col. Wortley; for Durham, Cumberland, York, Westmoreland and Northumberland, Lord Lambert; for Westminster and Middlesex, Col. Barkstead Lieut. of the Tower. The greatest service they did was to oblige Delinquents to pay in the Tenths of their Estates for old Offences, and influence of Elections of Parliament Men, but in a short time he dismissed them again.

Another design of the Protectors was the admission of the Jews into England, for which it was said they offered 200,000 *l.* So he proposes it to several Judges and Ministers; many arguments were used for and against it, several places of Scripture cited, and divers Conferences held about it, with Dr. Manton, Mr. Jenkins and others, who yet were not satisfied with the Arguments of Manasseh Ben Israel the Jewish Agent, though the Protector alledged, ' That since there ' was a promise for their conversion, means must be ' used to that end, which is the preaching of the ' Gospel, and that cannot be had unless they be per- ' mitted to reside where the Gospel is preached; but ' in conclusion, the publick re-admission of them was ' laid aside, as a thing decried both by the Clergy ' and Laity.

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The Spaniards having Intelligence of the repulse of the English at Hispaniola, and their possession of Jamaica, thought this a sufficient breach of the Peace (though there was never any peace made with that King beyond the Line, he always taking all English Ships he could meet with, and master that traded there) and seiz'd all the Merchants, persons and goods then in Spain, so that the War begins to grow hot both in the old and new World. The Protector thereupon orders the Generals Blake and Montague, to block up Cadiz, the chief port Town of that Kingdom, and whither the plate Fleet used yearly to come. He likewise concludes a peace with France (which was at Wars with Spain along time) by the Interest of Cardinal Mazarine, the French King (as you have heard) banishing all the Royal Family of England (except the Queen Mother) out of his Dominions, at the desire of Cromwel, and by the instigation of that Cardinal.

The English Fleet under Montague and Blake, had for some months in a manner besieged Cadiz by Sea, but could by no provocation oblige the Spaniards to fight them, who hoping that the English having suffered the Fatigues of the Sea, would be forced to depart for want of Provisions, thought it better policy to lose a little honour, rather than to venture after Men or Ships against those who had maintained such terrible Sea-fights against the Hollanders; but the English found in Weyers Bay in Portugal, a convenient supply of Water and Provisions, which was much nearer than was imagined. Hither were the Generals gone for fresh water and provisions, having only left a Squadron of 7 Ships under Capt. Stainer, before the Port of Cadiz, to observe all Ships passing in or out; as they were thus plying for some days, it happened that a stiff gale of Wind forced Capt. Stainer out to Sea, where he espy'd part of the K. of Spain's plate Fleet, coming from the West-Indies, and making directly for Cadiz; he was somewhat to the Lee-ward

ward, but made up toward them with all the Sail possible, and after some Hours with much Labour the Captain in the Speaker, with the Bridgewater & Plymouth Frigats, got up to them; the other 4 Ships not being able to come up, and presently engaged them; the Spanish Fleet consisted in 8 tall Ships or Galleons, yet in a short time they were wholly spoil'd. One was sunk, three burnt, two ran ashore and were bulged, 1 escaped, and 2 fell into the hands of the English, 1 whereof had a great quantity of Cocke-weal and Plate in her, the other were chiefly laden with Hydes. In these Ships many Persons of Quality were taken, and among others the 2 Sons of the Marquess of Badajoz, who had been Governour of Peru, and having gain'd a great Estate in New-Spain, was now returning to live the remainder of his Days in his own Country, he and his Wife and Daughter were burnt in one of the Ships, of which, and the War with Spain, with the present Victory, hear what the Poet Laureat of that Age elegantly sings:

Upon the War with Spain, and a Victory at Sea.

NOW for some Ages had the Pride of Spain
 Made the Sun shine on half the World in vain,
 Whilst she bid War to all that durst supply
 The Place of those her Cruelty made dye.
 Of Natures Bounty Men forbore to tast:
 And the best portion of the Earth lay wast;
 From the New World her Silver and her Gold,
 Came like a Tempest to confound the Old;
 Feeding with these the brib'd Electors Hopes,
 Alone she gave us Emperors and Popes:
 With these advancing her unjust Designs,
 Europe was shaken with her Indian Mines.
 When our Protector looking with Disdain,
 Upon this gilded Majesty of Spain,

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Beauty and Youth about to perish, finds
 Such noble pity in brave English minds,
 That they the spoil neglecting, and the prize,
 All labour now to save their Enemies ;
 How frail's our passion ? How soon changed are,
 Our wrath and fury to a friendly care.
 They that but now for honour and for Plate
 Made the Sea blush with blood forget their hate ;
 And while their Foes from perishing they retrieve,
 With greater danger then they fought they dive.
 With these returns Victorious Mountague,
 With Lawrel in his hands, and half Peru :
 Let our brave Generals deride that Bough,
 Our great Protector hath such Wreaths enow ;
 His conquering Head hath no more Room for Bays :
 Then let it be as the whole Nation prays,
 Let the rich Oar forthwith be melted down
 And the State fixt by making him a Crown.
 With purple cloath'd and Ermine let him hold,
 A Royal Sceptre made of Spanish Gold.

The Protector was highly pleased at this success, and great booty, and a day of Thanksgiving was appointed for it : and soon after Gen. Mountague with the young Marquess, and part of the Fleet to convoy the silver which amounted to two Millions of pieces of Eight, returned into England, and delivered the Bullion into the Mint, and the young Marquess and his Brother were set at Liberty. But the Spanish War being like to prove chargeable notwithstanding this supply, the Protector being still necessitated for money, and desiring to have his power confirmed to him by the People, in hope a new Representative might grant him what the former denied, he issues out writs for the Election of a new Parliament, where in much-circumspection was used, if possible, to prevent some of the former House from being chosen.

Sept. 17. 1656. This Parliament met at Westminster, and had a Sermon preached before them at the Abbey-Church. After Sermon the Members went to the House, but found at the Door a Guard, and an Officer standing with a List in his hand, demanding the Names of every one, and such as were marked for non-admittance were turned back, and a promise imposed upon every individual member before he should be permitted to sit in the House, That he would not act any thing prejudicial to the present Government; which many refused, and return'd home; but the major part assenting to it, entred the House, and chose Sir Tho. Widdrington Speaker, and notwithstanding those that were excluded, referred the approbation of them to the Protector's Council. They then proceed according to the Protector's desire, making an Act disannulling the Title of Charles Stewart to the Government of these three Nations, *Nemine Contradicente*; another for making it Treason for any to attempt, compass or imagine, the Protector's death, and appointing such Offenders to be tried not by a Jury of twelve sufficient men, but by a High Court of Justice; a 3d for an Assessment on England, Scotland, and Ireland, of 70000 *l.* per month for 3 years; an Act for preventing multiplicity of buildings, in and ten miles about London, a whole years Revenue to be paid for all dwellings or out-houses, raised upon any new foundation since 1620. An Act for exercise of Merchandize imported. An Act for punishing such as live at high rates, and have no visible Estates: and lastly, for the Observation of the Lord's day. When these Acts were ready for signing, the Protector came to the painted Chamber and sent for the Parliament, where the Speaker tendering them to him, at the signing them he spake thus.

‘ Mr. Speaker, I perceive that among these many Acts of Parliament there hath been very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth, by these

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Bills for levying money now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto, and understanding it hath been the Practice of those who have been chief Governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the publick, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.

Let us now relate a daring attempt performed by Gen. Blake about this time. This valiant Commander lying with his Fleet near Cadiz, had advice that the Spanish West-India Fleet was put into the port of Sancta Cruze in Teneriff the chief Isle of the Canaries: so the Fleet weigh'd, and April 20. 1657. came to the mouth of Sancta Cruze Bay, where they saw 16 Spanish Ships lying almost like an half moon. At the North of the Haven is a Castle fortified with Cannon, besides 7 Forts more, with 3, 4, and 6 Guns apiece, so that the enterprize seemed dangerous, if not desperate: Don Diego D' Aquies had caused all the small Ships to be moored all along the shoar to secure 'em, and the 6 great Gallions lay further off at Anchor, with their broad sides towards the Sea. Blake perceiving all this, calls a Council of War, where it was resolved to attack them without any thought of danger; Captain Stanier in the Speaker, presently falls upon the Ships, disregarding the number of shot which came thundering from the Forts on every side as thick as Hail, and maintains near an hours fight, till the Generals, Blake and Montague, having ordered some Frigats to ply the Forts and Breast-works with continual Broad-sides, came up and with all their force attacked the Spaniards, who after 4 hours gallant resistance, were driven out of their Ships, which the English could not bring away, and so were forced to burn 16 small and great. This gallant attempt cost the English but 48 men, and 120 wounded. The Spaniards besides the loss of their whole Fleet, had several hundreds of men slain on the shoar, and in the Forts and Works, besides those killed in the Ships.

For this notable exploit, the Protector, by order of Parliament, sent a Diamond Ring worth 500 l. as present to Gen. Blake, and Capt. Rich. Stainer who led on the first Squadron, was at his return for this and his former Services, Knighted by the Protector.

At this time one Miles Syndercomb, an Officer formerly in Scotland under M. Gen. Overton, was seized and accus'd to design to take away the life of the Protector, in combination with a disguis'd Person, said to be a Priest sent from Don Alonso in Flanders, who was engag'd as principal. It was alledged that several Houses were taken to shoot the Protector, with Engines, Blunderbusses, and other Fire Arms at his going to the Parliament, or in the way to Hampton-court and that the Chappel at White Hall was to be fired with a strong combustible matter. This account Secretary Thurloe deliver'd to the Parliament in such moving terms that the House order'd a day of thanksgiving, and a Narrative of the Plot to be publish'd and went in a body to congratulate his Highness's happy Deliverance, where Sir Tho. Widdrington, then Speaker, declared, ' 1. The Danger and Ruin of the Reformed Churches abroad, and three Nations at home, who were struck at by this blow : 2. The cunning secrecy of it, that no more than two should be privy to this wicked design : 3. The extensiveness of it, resolving if they fail'd in one place to do it in another, so that if Cicero were living he would want expressions to set out the danger and the misery, and it being so unparallel'd and more unprecedented a deliverance, the Parliaments Hymn ought to be, O Cantemus Canticum Novum, O let us sing a new Song unto the Lord, bless his Name, shew forth his Salvation this day, for he hath done marvelous things, his right hand, and his Holy arm hath gotten him the Victory.

Syndercomb, the next Term, was by the direction of the Parliament, try'd for this Treason at the King's

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Bench-Bar. He denied the Plot, but the Evidence swearing positively against him, he was convicted upon the Statute of 25 Edw. 3. Justice Glyn declaring, that by the King was understood any chief Magistrate of the Nation. He was carried thence to the Tower, where the night before his Execution, it was supposed he poisoned himself, as the Coroner's Jury gave their Verdict. He went well to bed, desiring half an hours privacy for his prayers, which being elapsed, he open'd the door, and rubbing his hands together and his nose with them, he briskly bid them good night, and being found dead next morning, his body a while after, was tied with his head to the Horse's Tail, and drawn to the Scaffold at Tower-hill, where he was buried, and a stake covered with Iron at Top driven into his Body.

The Sect of the Quakers were now grown numerous among whom one called James Naylor, resembling in his proportions and complexion, the picture of Christ, and setting his beard and locks in the same fashion, pretended to counterfeite our blessed Saviour, and had Disciples and Women ministring unto him, who blasphemously apply'd several expressions of

Scripture relating to our Lord Jesus to this Man He first appeared at Bristol, where a man leading an Horse before him, and Dorcas, Erbury, and Martha Symonds, going up to the knees in dirt, by his Horse side, sung aloud, Holy, Holy, Holy, Hosanna to the Highest, &c. For this they were seized and brought to the Parliament. They entered the House singing their Blasphemies, and a Committee being appointed to consider of their punishment, he was sentenced to be set in the Pillory twice, and whipt twice, and his forehead to be stigmatized with a letter B for a Blasphemer, and beared thro' the Tongue with an hot Iron, with which he used to answer every question, Thou hast said it, and the like. He was likewise whipt at Bristol, and thence returned to Bridewell, to be kept close Prisoner, and to eat no more than he earned. In Newgate, after his punishment one Mr. Rich a Merchant of Credit, that held him by the hand while he was in the Pillory, with divers others, licked his Wounds; the Women were observed, some to lay their heads in his lap, lying against his Feet, others to lean upon his shoulders, and as soon as any Quaker came into his Company, they would first take him by the hand, and in a strange note say, Holy, Holy, &c. but being removed to Bridewell, after three Days willful-fasting, having weakened himself even to death, he begged some Victuals, and then was set to work, which he performed, and came by degrees to himself, and his understanding; after Cromwel's Death he had his liberty, and soon after died.

The Parliament had been long debating about settling the Government on the Protector, when on a sudden Alderman Pack of London, and one of the Members started a Motion, 'That in regard of the
'unsettlement of the Nation, and the discomposure
'of mens Minds, and the ill aspect it had upon Fo-
'reign Princes and all Trade, that therefore the Pro-
'tector might be desired to assume the stile of King,

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as the most known and most agreeable Government. This motion was seconded by several of the Protector's Courtiers, and April 9. the Parliament having desired a meeting with him, came to the Banqueting House at White-Hall, where the Speaker commended the Title and Office of a King, as being settled in this Nation, with Christianity it self, approv'd by our Ancestors and consistent with our Laws, and the temper of the People, and then presented him the Model of their humble Petition and Advice to that purpose. His Highness in answer thereto, said, ' Mr. Speaker, this is a weighty matter, and therefore I desire space to seek God, the Charge that you would lay upon me being too heavy for me to bear without his assistance, for the English are the best People in the World, and require all tenderness and consideration whatsoever, to be used for preserving their liberties and properties.

The next day a Committee of 6 or 7 of their number was appointed to wait upon him, and answer his Scruples and Objections, which were, That the Title of a King was the name of the Office of a supreme Magistrate, to which that of Protector might be accommodated without a Change. That Providence had laid by the Title of King after 7 Years War. That it was dangerous to alter the Government again from a Commonwealth to a Monarchy. That it would be disliked by many of the good People of the Nation, as well as by the Army and Judges, who might refuse to Act.

To this they reply'd, That the Name of King had been in use in this Nation for above 1300 years past. That the Person had sometimes displeased the People, but the Title never. That the Law was fitted thereto and that it was accommodated to the genius of the People, and approved also. That by refusing the Title of King he did not so much derogate from himself, as from the Nation, whose honour it was to be governed by a King. That the supreme Magistrate was

never designed by the name of Protector, but King, to whom the Scripture it self has annex'd so many Covenants, promises and precepts; neither is the Title of Protector once mention'd in the Holy Text; which those good men who were tender conscienced might consider, and being so well principled in Godliness, might learn from thence submission to Authority under a Kingly Government. But the strongest Argument of all was, The Statutes of the 9. of Edw. 4. and the 3. of Hen. 7. whereby it was enacted, That no man bearing Arms, tho' unjustly, for the King *de Facto*, or in Being and Possession should be punish'd for it under pretence that he was not King *de Jure*, or that he had no Right to the Crown; and that in the late Wars, more trusting to that Law, were in Arms for the King than of those that loved his cause. And that Providence had now brought about Affairs so as it seem'd absolutely necessary for his Highness to comply therewith.

These and many other Arguments were at large offered and urged to him; but Cromwel finding the Inclinations of some of the People, and especially of many Officers and Souldiers averse to the title of King which they had so lately renounced; and doubting it seems, that tho' it might fortify his Title it would weaken his Revenue, who requir'd 1900000 pound a year for the Support of his Government, besides the charge of the Spanish-War: He thereupon sent for the Parliament to the Banqueting House at White-Hall, May 8. following, and his eldest Son Richard (afterward Protector) being among them, the old Stairs by which they mounted, being overcharged by weight broke with them, so that many fell down much bruised in their Legs and Arms, among the rest Richard being grievously wounded, lay it by a long while, and this was brought by some to be a presage of his Fall from his Protectorian dignity.

And now the Protector gives 'em his last and positive answer, That he had had many thoughts a-

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bout what they had so oft insisted upon, that it was necessary for him to take upon him the Title of King, and that tho' he did with all honour and respect, acknowledge that no private judgment is to lie in the ballance with the Judgment of a Parliament; yet in things respecting particular Persons every man must give an account to God, of his actions, and that if he should comply with them, it would be doubtingly at best, and not of Faith, and consequently sinful. Lastly, That tho' he thought Monarchy consisted of many excellent parts, in all, but the title as to him; yet he should not be an honest man, if he did not tell 'em, That he could not undertake this Government with the Title of King, and this was his Answer to this great and weighty business.

The Royal party were much disappointed with this Answer, they being extremely desirous that Cromwel should take the Title of King. For tho' at present it might seem to prejudice the right of K. Charles II. to the Crown, and tho' several things were then publicly discours'd of against his interest, as that he was Consumptive, and could not live long, that he was Melancholy and inclined to a Monkish life, and to the Popish Religion, and had laid aside all thoughts or desire of Government; and lastly, that the D. of York his dear Brother was a professed Papist, tho' all this was published to alienate the People's affections from him, yet his Friends were of Opinion that if Cromwel were once advanced to the Throne, and the Monarchy thereby restored, the Controversy for the future would only be, whether King Charles or King Oliver should reign.

The Protector having refused the Title of King the Committee of Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory Act, of the former Instrument of Government, when he came to the Protectorship in 1653. (which is before inserted:) And the Parliament having voted, That Protector should be the Title of the chief Magistrate, they desired a conference

with Cromwel in the Painted Chamber, Westminster, May 25. 1657. where Sir Tho. Widdrington, their Speaker, presented him with the Model of his future Government under the Title of The Petition and Advice. Which being read, the Protector made a Speech to signify his unwillingness to undertake so great a burden, which was too heavy for any humane Creature to bear without the Almighty's support; and called God to witness that nothing could have induced him to have undertaken it, had it not been determined by the Parliament to make clearly for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation, and the preservation of such as fear God.

He then pass'd this Petition into a Law, and June 26. was appointed for his solemn Investiture, a Place being prepared at Westminster-Hall. At the upper end were two Chairs set, one for the Protector, the other for the Speaker. The Members of Parliament, Aldermen of London, and other Persons of Note, sat on each side, on the Scaffolds built for them. All being ready the Protector came out of a room adjoining to the Lord's House, and in this order proceeded into the Hall: First went his Gentlemen, then an Herald, the Attorney General, then the Judges, after them Norroy King at Arms, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Seal carried by Commissioner Fines then Garter, and after him the Earl of Warwick with the Sword born before the Protector bare-headed; the Lord Mayor Tichburn carrying the City Sword at his left hand: Being seated in the Chair, on the left hand stood the Lord-Mayor and the Dutch Ambassador, and on the Right-hand the E. of Warwick and the French Ambassador, next behind him stood his Son Richard, L. Fleetwood, L. Cléypool, and the Privy Council; upon a lower descent stood the Lords Mountague and Whitlock with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker in the Name of the Parliament presented him several things laid on the Table, which

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were a Robe of Purple Velvet, a Bible, a Sceptre, and a Sword, on each of which the Speaker made a short Comment as he delivered them.

1. The Robe of Purple: This is an Emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice; when you have put on this Vestment, I may say you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a mixt Colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy; indeed a Magistrate must have two hands, Plectentem & Amplectentem, to cherish and to punish.

2. The Bible is a Book that contains all the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be wellvers'd: This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New, the first shews Christum Velatum, the second, Christum Revelatum, Christ Veiled and Reveiled: It is the Book of Books, and contains both Precepts and Examples for good Government.

3. Here is a Sceptre, not unlike a Staff to the weak and poor, it is of ancient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, That the Sceptre shall not depart from Judah. It was of the like use in other Kingdoms, however the Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes Sceptre bearers.

4. The last thing is a Sword, not a Military, but Civil Sword, rather of defence than offence, not to defend your self only, but your People also. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the Valiant Lord Talbot did upon his, it should be this, Ego sum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum populum meum, I am the Lord Protector's to protect my People.

After this the Speaker returned again to the Chair, and administered the Oath to the Protector in these following Words.

I Do in the presence, and by the Name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, of the
Old

Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my understanding and power, and encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that to the uttermost of my power, I will endeavour as chief Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Safety, and just Rights and Privileges of the People thereof; and shall in all things according to my best knowledge and power, govern the People of these Nations according to Law.

The Oath being administred, Dr. Menton made a Prayer, and then an Herald stood up aloft, giving signal to a Trumpet to sound three times; after which, he did by Authority and Direction of Parliament, publish and proclaim his Highness L. Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. This Proclamation ended, the Trumpets again sounded, and some Souldiers and others cried out, God save the L. Protector: Then he was again proclaimed by an Officer at Arms, standing on the Stairs. The Ceremonies ended, the Protector attended by all the Officers of State, went into the Palace Yard in his Robes, where entering his Coach, he returned in State to White-Hall.

This year an Insurrection was designed by those called Fifth Monarchy-men who had divers Meetings in an house in Shoreditch, but several of 'em being discontented Persons, formerly of the Army, they appointed to Rendezvous on Mile-end Green, and so march into other Countries to augment their party. At length they were seized, and some Arms and Ammunition taken with 'em, and a Standard with a Lyon Couchant with this Motto, Who shall rouse him up? The men taken were Venner, a Wine-Cooper, with their Scribe Grey, Goaler, Hopkins, Ashton and others: About them was found a Declaration in print called, The Principles of the Remnant; they were committed to prison, but after released without prosecution. Likewise M. Gen. Harrison, Lawson, Rich and

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and Danvers were secured as Discontents. About this time the Victorious Gen. Blake returning from the Coast of Spain, fell sick of the Scurvy and Dropsy, and died just entring into Plymouth Sound, passionately enquiring for Land; he was buried with an handsome Funeral from Greenwich, and interred in King Henry VIIIth Chappel at Westminster.

The Protector to keep the Spaniards employ'd every where, makes a League with the French, whereby it was agreed, That Cromwel should send 6000 Foot over into Flanders, which the French extremely wanted, to be paid by the French King. And that the second Town which should be taken, was to be delivered up to the English; that Charles Stuart, late King of England with all his Court and Family should be banished out of France, lest he might any way assist the Enemy.

In pursuance hereof, May 4. 1657. these Forces arrived in Picardy and joined with those Forces commanded by the Marshal Turin, to which the Protector was the more induced, because the K. of Spain had invited King Charles into his Dominions since the breach with England, and he was then at Bruges full of expectation of being restored by the power of that King, and the Marquess of Ormond, the L. Wilmot, the Lords Gerrard and Wentworth, the L. Taaf, and General Middleton, had their several Regiments quarter'd about the Sea Coasts in order to a Descent, the Lukes of York and Gloucester, had likewise commands in Flanders, Sir John Reynolds one of Cromwel's Knights, formerly Commissary Gen. of the Army in Ireland, was Gen. of the English Forces, and Col. Morgan, M. Gen. Before their embarkement they Rendevouzed at Black-Heath, where Hugh Peters gave'em a Sermon for encouragement, and were shipped with a months pay in hand, and all new red Coats.

In September, the French and English Forces advance into the Spanish Territories, and according to agreement

agreement sat down before Mardyke, a strong Fort-
tress, and put themselves between it and Dunkirk :
Gen. Mountague riding before the Splinter with a
Fleet of War, it was not long before a continued
Battery made the besieged quit the Wooden Fort,
which so incommoded them when taken by the Eng-
lish, that they were obliged to yield to Mercy, Tu-
reio not allowing them better Terms because they had
refused his first Offers : Mardyke was put into the
hands of the English, in consideration of our assistance,
and Col. Morgan took possession thereof with several
Regiments, whom the Spaniards soon after endea-
vour'd to remove, by a sudden and fierce assault, after
the Armies were drawn into Winter Quarters, since
being only 2 miles from Dunkirk, they were fearful it
might endanger that Town. Whereupon Don John
of Austria resolv'd to hazard a scalado and attack by
night ; the D. of York and the Marquess of Caracene
managed the Business, and K. Charles and the D. of
Glooucester, had convey'd themselves into Dunkirk to
observe the success of it. Oct. 22. 4000 English, Scots,
Irish, and some Spaniards about ten at night, began
to storm Mardyke with hand Grenadoes, and other
Engines proper for an assault, and were got into the
Trenches, and had mounted the Scaling Ladders ; but
the English within being ready to receive them, com-
manded by Reynolds, Morgan, and Lillingstone, the
Assailants were with great slaughter repuls'd, the Can-
non in the mean time, from the English Fleet in the
Splinter, firing their broadsides upon them, being di-
rected by 4 great Torches set up at the 4 corners of
the Fort, how to avoid dammaging it. Yet about 4
in the morning, the D. of York commanded the As-
sault to be renewed, which was done with great fury,
but to as little advantage as before, so that day-light
approaching they were forced to retreat, carrying
away the dead in Waggons, judged to be some hun-
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to regain this important place by stratagem, employing a Scotch Knight, well acquainted with Gen. Reynolds, to represent to him the advantages he might obtain by serving the King, and promoting his Restoration, which it seems so far prevail'd, that Reynolds agreed to give the Duke a meeting betwixt Dunkirk and Mardyke, with a party of Horse on either side. At their approach, Reynolds shewed much respect to the Duke, and some private discourses past between 'em which were never made publick, and then the General returned to the Fort, and the Duke to Dunkirk. The Protector having Intelligence of this interview, dispatched away a Messenger, to command Reynolds to London, so he, with Col. White, and the General's Secretary, taking the first ship that was ready, venture to go off in a Dutch Pink of 100 Tun in a stormy night, Dec. 12. (a Frigate offering to wait upon him the next morning) but were all cast away on the back of the Goodwin Sands, his Chest, Sword and Belt being found, and Colonel Morgan commanded in his place.

There now happened Wars between the two Northern Crowns, and the Danes having attacked Bremer-warden, a strong place, and master'd it, the Protector sent Sir Ph. Medows Envoy to the K. of Denmark, and Col. Jephson to the K. of Sweden, then journeying out of Poland, where he was engaged in War likewise, to meet this new Enemy. They were both well received, and during this Mediation the Protector sent supplies of 2000 men and arms to his Ally the K. of Sweden.

Mean while the Protector at home was swearing his Privy Council, pursuant to the humble Petition and Advice, and his Son Richard was made one, and also Chancellor of Oxford: His Son Henry L. Deputy of Ireland; and his Son in Law Fleetwood, was designed to be L. Commissioner of Scotland, where Gen. Monk at present commanded. He likewise, in this interval of Parliament, made choice of several Persons

to fill up the other House or House of Lords (according to Article 4 of the Petition and Advice) being 62 in number, among them were some few of the Nobility, as the Earls of Warwick and Manchester, the Viscounts Lisle and Howard, the Lords Say and Seal, Wharton, Falconbridge, Ewers, Broghii, Warreston, Cassils, with divers Knights; but several Colonels of the Army of mean extract being mingled with 'em, as Pride, Hawson, Cooper, Whaley, &c. many of the rest declined to appear or act.

When the Parliament met again after their Prorogation, the Protector sent for the Commons to the House of Lords, and made a pleasing Speech to them, concluding, That if they would go on to prosecute what they had begun, they should be called, the Blessed of the Lord, and the Generations to come should bless them. Then L. Fieunes Commissioner of the Great Seal, gave them an account of the Deficiencies of the Supplies granted last Session, to the expence and necessities of the State. The Commons then return to their House, and the other House (as it was called) sent them a Message about keeping a Fast, to which they answered, they would consider of it, they then (according to Article 4. of the Petition and Advice, which says, that no Member legally chosen, should be excluded from performing his Duty, but by consent of Parliament) proceed to call over and readmit the Members formerly excluded by the Protector, to his great discontent. The House being now full, began now to slight the other House, being a power created by a part of a Parliament, which ought not to have Negative voice over the Representative of the Commons of England, and question the Protector's power in calling and authorizing them to sit as an House of Peers; What say they, have we fought to depose the Prerogative Creatures, the Lords, those Limbs of Tyranny, who Lorded it over the Free-born People of England, and shall we submit to these Creatures of Cromwel's sole Creation, to usurp the same

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Tyranny over us and the free Denizens of the three Kingdoms. The Protector heated with these bold Speeches, and doubting the effect of them, sent for the Commons Feb. 4. 1657. into the House Peers, and sitting under the Chair of State, made a long Speech, and in the conclusion told them, that it did concern his Interest, as well as the publick Peace and Tranquility of the Nation, to dissolve this Parliament; so he did now put an end to their sitting, and in obedience to his Commands they dissolved. This was the fourth Parliament he had dissolved; having turned out the long Parliament, the little Parliament, the Recognition Parliament, and the present Juncto. It was said of the three latter, which were summoned by Cromwel himself, ' That the first was called but ' not chosen; The second did just nothing: And the ' third nothing just.

The Royalists now make another attempt for restoring K. Charles, of which the Protector had intelligence by his Emissaries, so that when the design was just ripe for execution, he published a Proclamation for all Cavaliers to depart 20 Miles from London and Westminster, and the Marquess of Ormond who was personally concerned in the Intrigue, with much difficulty escaped in a small Boat from Suffex to Flanders; but several others were seized, as Coll. Russel, Sir W. Compton, Sir W. Clayton, Mr. Mordant brother to the Earl of Peterborough, Dr. Hewit preacher at St. Gregories by St Paul's, Mr. Woodcock, Mr. Mansel, Mr. Mallory, Sir Hen. Slingsby, and many more; most of them were kept close Prisoners till some were prevailed upon to be witnesses against others. The design was laid in Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Suffex, the K. being ready to have passed over from Flanders with an Army under Count Marcin the P. of Condes General, and Portsmouth, Hull, and other Maritime Fortresses, were treated for, The Protector sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, acquainting them with what discoveries he had



had made, and the danger they were in, who thereupon chose a new Lieutenantcy, and changed the Officers of the Trained Bands, and the Protector doubled his Guards, and an alarm was given, that on May 16. the Cavaliers had appointed for their Rising and firing the Town, and all the Soldiers about the City to be murdered, so all the 6 Regiments were raised at once, and divers Citizens seized.

Then another High Court of Justice was Erected, before whom Dr. Hewit, and Sir H. Slingsby were brought, and charged with High Treason upon these Articles: ' 1. That they had traiterously and maliciously endeavoured to raise Force, and levy War against his Highness and the Government, and to subvert and alter the same. 2 That they had traiterously declared, published, and promoted, Ch. Stuart, eldest Son to the late R. Charles, to be King of England, Scotland and Ireland. 3. That they had held Intelligence with the said Ch. Stuart. Dr. Hewit would not own the Court, but pleaded several Cases against it, and was therefore condemned as mute: Mr. Mordant was next set to the Bar, who argued so very plainly and fully against the Evidence, that he was acquitted by one Voice only. Sir H. Slingsby defend-

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defended himself by alledging, That what was said by him about seducing the Governour of Hull, and persuading him to surrender that Garrison to the King, was only in Jest and Discourse: He was found Guilty and Condemn'd. Mr Malloby pleaded Guilty and was saved. Mr. Woodcock cleared himself so well, that they could fasten nothing upon him. June 8. 1657. Dr. Hewit and Sir H. Slingsby were beheaded on Tower Hill, tho' many endeavours were used, & much Sollicitation made to save their Lives. Some other Persons of Inferior quality were likewise tryed and executed upon this account as Col. Edw Ashton who was hanged and quartered at Mark lane end, in Tower street. Edm. Stace against the Royal Exchange and John Bettely in Cheshide.

About this time a great Whale of 60 Foot long came up as far as Greenwich, to the admiration of all that saw his vast bulk, being pursued with Guns and other Weapons, with great Danger, and at length was brought dead to the Shoar.

The French and English Armies being joined now sat down before Dunkirk, resolving to take it before they stirred, which hotly alarmed the Spaniards in all their Quarters; whereupon Don John of Austria considering the importance of this Place, as being the Key of Flanders, and a Frontier of France, so that if the English possessed it, they might have an opportunity to conquer all Flanders, by the Forces that might be continually landed from England, with the supplies of Money which this Town, by their Booties brought into the Treasury. Upon these and the like Motives, he resolved to attempt its Relief, tho' with the hazard of his whole Army; but whilst he is getting them together, the English and French Forces run their Trenches to the Spanish Counterscarpe, and still approached nigher the Wall. The Spaniards fearing their relief might come too late, made haste to its assistance, the better to effect which, Don John their General drains most of the Garrisons and compleats a body



dy of 16000 men, with which he marches thro' Fuenes, and incamps within a mile and half of Marshal Turen's Quarters, of which the Confederates having advice, dislodged with a Body of 15000; leaving first enough to guard the Trenches, and make good their approaches, if the Townsmen should attempt a Sally. With this Detachment, and ten pieces of Cannon. Turen faces the Spaniard: The English Foot drawn up in 4 great Battalions were ordered to give the first assault upon 4 Battalions of Spanish Foot, who had the advantage of the ground, being placed upon three rising Hillocks & were seconded by Don John himself.

The English were commanded by the L. Lockhart, who having first ordered a Forlorn Hope of 300 Musketeers to mount the Sandhills, together with his own Regiment of Foot, under Col. Fenwick, they stoutly maintained

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maintained their ground, tho' the Spaniards played down continual Volleys of shot among them, and the French refused to second them: He then sent another considerable Brigade to their Relief, who fell in with the But-end of their Muskets among the Spanish Foot, and they not being used to such Club Law, left the Field and fled; The French Horse seeing the good fortune of the English Foot, fell in upon the Spanish Horse, few of whom stood the Charge except those under the Dukes of York and Gloucester, who after some resistance, were forced by the number of Assaultants to follow the rest.

In this Battle a great part of the L. Lockharts Regiment, were either slain or wounded, and Lt. Col. Fenwick was killed by a musket Bullet. The slaughter was great, The French Horse being severe in the pursuit, so that near 3000 were slain, and many Spanish Noblemen killed; wounded, and taken Prisoners.

This total rout of the Relievers Army, put despair into the Dunkirkers, who could now expect no relief by Sea or Land, the English Fleet blocking them up by Sea, and Don John of Austria not being able to recruit his Army by Land: Yet the Marquess of Leda their Governour to demonstrate some Courage, made strong and frequent Sallies upon the French Quarters proceeding rather from Despair than Valour, for in one of them the Marquess received a wound of which he died; and he being the Life of the Besieged, his Death occasioned the loss of Dunkirk. For the English and French playing without intermission with their Mortars 14 days upon the Town, the Besieged tired with continual Duty, beat a Parley and delivered it upon Articles, Dunkirk being established in the hands of the English, the French Army after a months siege, possess themselves of Graveling, a strong Fortress near Dunkirk. So the English and French had now in their hands all the Frontier Towns on this side Flanders.

In April 1658. A Party of the Garrison of Ostend with the privity of the Spanish Governour held intel-

ligence with the Cardinal Mazarine, and after with Cromwel to deliver up the Town to the French wherein the Protector was to have his share. Mazarine was to send a Land Army under Marshal d' Aumont, and Cromwel was to provide a Fleet to transport them. Articles of Agreement were made between them and the Spaniards, and May 14. the Fleet appeared before Ostend, and the Garrison in the Fort permitted the French to pass by, and Land. But the Governour fearing if the English Fleet should enter the Haven, they might endanger the Town, he with his own hands pulled down the White Flag, and set up the Bloody Flag. And before the English Fleet could tack about, and get out of danger, they were fore galled by the Cannon from the Fort, and the 1500 French that landed, were every man of them either kill'd or taken; the Marshal d' Aumont being made Prisoner. The French that were not kill'd Mazarine redeemed, but the Protector who had been at the most charge for his Fleet, could get no reparation from the Cardinal. Thus were both these refined Politicians outwitted by this subtle Spanish Governour, who after published the Story, under the Title of, ' Harm watch, ' Harm catch.

The Lady Cleypool, the Protectors second and beloved Daughter, whose Image she was said to be, dyed Aug. 6. 1658. at Hampton Court, and was convey'd thence by Water with a great number of mourning Barges, to the Painted Chamber at Westminster, where a stately Hearse was prepared for her; from whence she was carried about 12 at night to K. Hen. 7. Chappel, and there Interred in a place purposely provided for her. The Death of this Lady was said to be very grievous to her Father, and thought it to be one cause of his own soon after. She dyed of an inward Imposthume in her Lom, in great Agony and Pain, after she had in her Hysterical Fits much disquieted her Father with some Speeches she then utter'd about his Proceedings. To this disturbance was added the disorders of his own Family, his Son in-law Fleetwood and

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and his Brother in-law Desborough Caballing with the Common weals men and dissenting Officers of the Army, as Lambert & several others. So that growing very melancholly till about the end of August, it did then manifestly appear that the distemper was not in his mind alone, for shortly after he was taken with a slow Fever, that at length degenerated into a Bastard Tertian Ague. For a week the disease continued so, without any dangerous Symptons, so that every other day he walked abroad. But one day after dinner, his 5 Physicians coming to wait on him, one of them feeling his Pulse, said it intermitted, at which suddenly startled, he looked pale, and ordered himself to be carried to Bed, where being refreshed with Cordials, he made his Will, only settling his private and domestick Affairs. Next morning when one of his Physicians came to visit him, he ask'd him why he look'd so sad, and when he made answer, That so it became any one, who had the care of his Life and Health upon him. You Physicians, said he, think I shall dye. Then the Company being removed, holding his Wife by the hand he spoke to the Physician to this purpose; I tell you I shall not dye this hour, I am sure of it. And because he observed the Physician to look more attentively upon him at these words, don't think (said he) that I am mad, I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hypocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer not to my Prayers alone, but also to the Prayers of those who maintain a stricter communion, and greater intimacy with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your Looks, and deal with me as you would do with a Serving-man. You may have skill in the nature of things; yet nature can do more than all Physicians together; and the Lord is far more above nature. Some reported he added, That as God had carried him to that height, he did truly believe, he had some further work for him to do.

But being ordered to take his rest, because he had not slept most part of the Night, as this Physician

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(who is the relater of these passages) who coming out of his Chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been along time very familiar with him, to whom he said, I am afraid our Patient will be light headed. The other instantly replied, Sir, You are certainly a stranger in this House. Dost you know what was done last Night. The Chaplains and all who are dear to God being dispersed into several parts of the Pallace, have sought and prayed to God for his Health, and have all brought this answer, He shall recover.

Nay so far did the Enthusiastick humour prevail that a Fast being kept at Hampton Court for his sake, the Ministers did not so much pray to God for his Health, as return thanks for the undoubted pledges of his Recovery; and they repeated the same Thanksgiving again at Whitehall. This vain confidence of his Chaplains, was the cause that his Physicians judged it not prudent to mention a word of his danger.

In the mean time the Protector leaving Hampton Court, where hitherto he had lain, is brought to Whitehall; and the Physicians met at a Consultation in this Doctors Chamber. But next morning another Physician who had watched all Night with him came and told them how ill he had been in the last Fit; so they all concluded that he could hardly out-live another. This Sentence of the Physicians awaking the Privy Council, they come to advise him that he would name his Successor. But when in a drowzy Fit, he answered from the purpose, they again ask him, if he did not name Richard his eldest Son for his Successor; to which he answered, Yes. Then being asked where his Will was which heretofore he had made, concerning the Heirs of the Kingdom, he sent to look for it in his Closet, and other Places, but in vain, for he had either cancelled it himself, or else some body had conveyed it away. And so Richard was nominated his Heir. That night he was observed to pray as followeth.

Lord, I am a miserable Creature, yet I am in Covenant with Thee through Grace, and I may, I will come

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come unto thee for my People, Lord thou hast made me, tho' very unworthy, a mean Instrument to do them some good, and thee service, and many of them had too high a value for me, though others would be glad of my fall: But Lord, do thou good to 'em, give consistency of Judgment, one heart and mutual love unto 'em: Let the name of Christ be Glorious throughout the World: Pardon such as delight to trample upon the Ashes of a Worm, and pardon the folly of this short Prayer, even for Jesus Christ his sake.

This was on Thursday Night, and on Friday Morning, Septemb. 3. 1658. his twice Victorious day, at Dunbar and Worcester, there appeared all the signs of a dying person, and about three a Clock in the afternoon he expired. A day or two before his Death a very great Tempest happened, and was thought to presage it: Which was then Elegantly described by the Poet Laurel of that Age in the following Poem wherein the wit must compound for the flattery.

*Upon the Death of Oliver Cromwel,
Lord Protector, and the great
Storm.*

WE must resign, Heav'n his great Soul doth claim
In storms as loud as his Immortal Fame,
His dying Groans, his last Breath, shakes our Isle,
And Trees uncut fall for his Funeral Pile,
About his Palace their broad Roots were tost
Into the Air so Romulus was lost:
New Rome in such a Tempest mist her King,
And from obeying fell to worshipping.
On Oeta's Top thus Hercules lay dead,
With ruin'd Oaks, and Pines about him spread:
The poplar too, whose bough he went to wear
On his Victorious head, lay prostrate there.

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Those his last fury from the Mountain rent,
 One dying Hero from the Continent.
 Ravish'd whole Towns and Forts from Spaniards rest,
 As his last Legacy to Britain left.
 The Ocean which our hopes so long confin'd
 Could give no Limits to his vaster Mind :
 Our Bounds inlargment was his latest Toil:
 Nor hath he left us prisoners to the Isle.
 Under the Tropick is our Language spoke,
 And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our Yoke.
 From civil Broils he did us disingage
 Found nobler objects for our Martial rage;
 And with wise conduct to his Country shov'd
 Their Antient way of conquering abroad :
 Ingrateful then if we no Tears allow,
 To him that gave us Peace and Empire too :
 Princes that fear'd him grieved, concern'd to see
 No pitch of Glory from the Grave is free.
 Nature her self took notice of his Death,
 And sighing swell'd the Sea with such a Breath,
 That to remotest Shoars her Billows roud.
 The approaching Fate of their great Ruler told.

Thus you have a full account of the life of Oliver
 Cromwel, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and
 Ireland, whose valour mounted him to that height,
 by which he raised his Family almost equal to the
 best of the Kingdom, and the Nation to that Glory,
 that Foreign Princes feared and envied him. He had
 two Sons, Richard who succeeded him, and Henry,
 whom from sixteen years of Age, was by his Father
 bred a Soldier, and was at his Death Lord Deputy of
 Ireland : And four Daughters, Bridget first married
 to the Lord Deputy Ireton, and afterward to the
 L. Fleetwood, Elizabeth his second Daughter, married
 to the Lord Cleypool, Master of his Horse, Mary his
 third, married to the Lord Falconbridge, Francis
 his youngest, married to the Lord Rich, Grandson to
 the Earl of Warwick.

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His CHARACTER.

IT may seem difficult to give a just and impartial Character of this great Man, considering the different Sentiments that have passed upon him. However it may not be amiss, to give some account of his humour, Temper and Inclinations, from those who appear most moderate on either side.

I have already declared his Descent and Pedigree, and have only to add, what some hath written, That the name of this Family was not originally Cromwel but Williams, and that this of Cromwel was by this accident, when the great Lord Cromwel fell, in the Reign of K. Henry VIII. he had in his service one Williams, a person of lively parts, and industrious in business; which K. Henry observing (after his Master's death) he gave him a considerable employment, and upon all occasions called him Cromwel, his Master's name: And the King being ask'd the Reason answered, That he called him so in Cromwel's time, and would continue to call him so still, and this name continued down from that time to Sir Oliver Cromwel, and thence to our Protector.

As to his Religion, after the apparent Reformation that was visible in him, if he were not sincere, yet he study'd to gain an opinion of extraordinary sanctity among the Ministry: And in the beginning of the Wars reflecting on the success of the King's Army against the Parliaments under the Earl of Essex, he told some great Men of that party, that the Rabble of which their Forces were composed would never be able to prevail against the King, whose Army consisted of Gentlemen that fought upon the motive of honour, and not for pay only as theirs did; But if they designed to fight with equal courage and success they must employ honest Souldiers, or at least Officers who would fight meerly for Conscience sake; so having leave to raise a Regiment, he by Letters and Messengers. invited from several Counties all the sober

men of his acquaintance to list themselves for Souldiers. Hereupon a great number of those who were then called Puritans, and had suffered by the Ecclesiasticks came flocking in to him, so that he soon made up a Regiment of above a thousand Horse, who tho' at first undisciplined either in managing Arms or Horses; yet by diligence and industry, they quickly became excellent Souldiers. For Cromwel inured them to feed and dress their own Horses; to lye on the ground upon occasion; to keep their Arms fixt and clean, to be always ready for service; to choose the best Armour, and to arm themselves with the best advantages. Being constantly trained up in this kind of Military exercise; they obtained more Victories and excelled all their fellow Souldiers in feats of War. This was the beginning of that new Model so called in 1645. which was so successful against the King's old disciplin'd Troops. For these Souldiers were by Cromwel preferred to be Commanders and Officers in this new Army, their places being supplied with lusty stout Fellows, whom Oliver trained up, and kept in very strict Discipline; and he was often heard to glory in the Advice, he had given for new modelling the Army, who being zealous for the cause seldom failed in any undertaking. After this, Cromwel was made Major General of the Horse, then Lieutenant General, and at last Lord General; till after all he raised himself to the Dignity of Protector, and attained the highest place of Honour and Authority; and few ever applied themselves with greater Industry in the administration of the Common-wealth, so that his keenest adversaries acknowledged, he was not unworthy of the Government, had his way been plain and innocent in obtaining the same.

Though he appeared zealous in Religion, yet not to espouse the opinions of any particular Sect. But he seemed most inclined to the Independants, declaring that it was his only Wish, to see the Church in Peace, under one Shepherd the Lord Jesus Christ; Though

In the mean time he promoted dissentions between 'em; and having projected specious Proposals of Reconciliation between the Presbyterians and Independants, when they are upon the point of Agreement, he set them at greater variance, and under pretext of moderating and pacifying the Scotch Remonstrators and Assembly Men, he kindled greater Flames among them. Thus by turns he courted all Parties in Religion. And when the Presbyterians grew somewhat troublesome to his Government and their Neighbours, he let loose the Anabaptists, Quakers, and other Sects, who took upon 'em to dispute with their Preachers, and to interrupt them in their publick Worship, thereby creating no small trouble to 'em; nay (saith my Author) he was heard to glory privately, that he had curbed that insolent Sect, (as he privately called 'em) which would suffer none but it self. So that they were obliged to thank him for granting them permission to preach and worship God after their own manner in their Congregations. But the Independants had the chief places of Profit and Honour, whom he countenanced with their own Familiarity, and of whom his Domestick Chaplains were composed; and at length gave them liberty to call an Assembly of their Preachers at the Savoy, to draw up a Confusion of Faith, and to justify themselves from the absurd opinions, where-with they stood charged; which was done accordingly in his Son Richard's time.

Though the publick use of the Common-Prayer was denied to the Episcopal Party, yet in private Houses he allowed them the use thereof; and had a particular regard and kindness for Dr. Browning, after Bishop of Exeter, with whom he was formerly acquainted at Cambridge. And likewise to the renowned Archbishop Usher, on whose Funeral he bestowed 300 pound.

But the Clergy and Layety of the Royal party in general, being declared enemies to his Government,

he kept a hard hand over them. And tho' he publicly detested, seemed an implacable enemy to the Papists, yet he was very familiar and obliging toward some of them. Nay, one time a Treaty was begun about a General Toleration of their Religion, by converting the third part of their Estates given by former Laws, and which he duly receiv'd, into a certain sum of money, but not agreeing upon the sum, and finding it would be ingrateful to the people, he desisted from it, yet Priests and Jesuits said Mass privately without disturbance.

He appointed a Court of Tryers for approbation of Ministers, who had power to bestow Church livings, and to examine those that were admitted, about their conversion, and what marks they could produce of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and concerning their Manners and Learning. Hereby many Souldiers, Tradesmen and Shopkeepers, were admitted to the cure of Sou's, without ordination, and mingled with some skilful preachers, who had been ordained. Yet he allowed a Toleration of Religion, to all different Parties in Religion, whom he thought might not endanger his Government.

As to his demeanour in civil Matters; he endeavoured to accommodate himself to the different humours of men, with the Nobles and great Men, with some few of whom he had an intimacy, he delighted in jesting and facetious discourse, entertaining them with merry Collations, Musick, Hunting and Hawking. With the Religious and those that professed strict piety, he would discourse of Divine matters with the greatest seeming warmth and zeal, magnifying Divine Mercy, and laying his hand on his Heart would often Sigh and melt into Tears.

When he was in the Country he used once or oftener a year, to give the Neighbours about a Buck, to be run down in his Park, and some Money to buy Wine to make merry with. He would often make Feasts for the inferiour Officers of the Army, and

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whilst they were feeding, before they had satisfied their Hunger, cause the Drums to beat, and let in the private Souldiers to fall on and snatch away the half eaten dishes; The robust and sturdy Souldiers he loved to divert, by making them sometimes throw a burning Coal into each others Boots, or to sling Cushions at one anothers heads; when the Officers had sufficiently laughed and tired themselves with these Preludes, he would endeavour to open their Hearts freely, and drew some Secrets from the unwearied, which he after made use of to serve his own purposes.

In short no Man dived more cunningly into the manners, nor knew more of men; nay, if any man was singular in any Art or Faculty he soon found him out. He had a great command over all his Passions and affections; could weep when he saw his Friend in Tears, and laugh as he saw occasion, yet would sometimes break out into fury, yea to rage and blows: But next day would again be sorry for his Transports, and desire Pardon and Reconciliation.

That he had real Courage and Valour above most Men of his time, his daring and prodigious Actions before related sufficiently declare, yet when he came to the Protectorship, and had thereby created to himself so many enemies, both among his own former Friends and Officers of the Army, as well as the Royalists, he seemed to fear every thing. He whom Squadrons of Warriors, roaring of Cannons, and all the Instruments of death could not appale in the open Field, appeared now disturbed at every new Face. He took particular notice of the Carriage, Manners, Habit and Language of all strangers, especially if they seemed joyful. He never stird abroad but with strong Guards, wearing Armour underneath his Cloths, carrying a Sword, Fauchion, Dagger, and several Pistols about him, never coming back the streight publick Road, nor the same way, always travelling but with great hast and speed. His Lodgings had

several back Doors, Locks and Keys, with Guards set very night at each of them; neither did he seldom sleep 3 nights together in the same Chamber; so that his mind suffered great adversity, especially after that Libel published against him, called, Killing no Murder; inciting the Killing of him as a Tyrant, by any hand, affirming it to be an Act not only Glorious, but Meritorious. These things so discomposed him, that he was known often to deplore the Condition he was in, and the obstinacy and headstrongness of the English Nation, (as he called it,) who would by no means be obliged to submit peaceably to his Government.

Upon this account he durst not trust the Tryal of State Offenders to the Consciences of a Legal Jury, of 12 indifferent Men of the Neighbourhood, which is the ancient and singular privilege of English Men for many hundred years past. A Tryal that only pleases our Country-men, as being according to Law, Reason and Equity. For if the offended Conqueror shall nominate and appoint a few of his own Creatures as Arbiters of the life and fortune of the People, they no doubt to please their Master, will quickly find all he is desirous to take off, guilty of Treason, and condemn them to suffer accordingly; which is indeed strange Justice, the same men being Accusers, Witnesses, Informers and Judges; yet this was his way of proceeding against his Enemies (as well as the usage of the Remainder of the long Parliament) to try and condemn the Free born Subjects of England by a new invented Tribunal call'd, *An high Court of Justice*; and therefore Cromwel affirm'd, that Juries ought to be taken away as an hindrance to sacred Justice, which was thereby put into the hands of the prophane common People. That the weightiest matters of the Law, did not depend upon the Sentences of the Judges and the learned in the Law; but upon the pleasure and prejudices of a Company of men destitute of all ingenious Learning, nay, sometimes almost of

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Common Sense. That it were consonant to Justice that 50 men chosen out of the Flower of the whole Nation, should determine of Lives and Fortunes.

So Juries tho' the strongest Bulwark against tyranny, must be removed because he had been disappointed by them in 2 or 3 Instances ; one was that three Royalists, Davison, Holder and Thorold, being committed to a Provost Marshal, in order to be try'd before a High Court of Justice for acting in behalf of K. Charles II. They made their escape by pistolling a Souldier that guarded 'em. But being retaken, were try'd for Murder at the King's Bench-bar ; the Lord Chief Justice promising his endeavours to have them condemned. When they came upon their Tryal, they pleaded not Guilty, and the Question was, whether they were legally committed, if not, what they did was in their own defence, and could be only Manslaughter. The Jury found them not legally committed, and so acquitted them of the Murder. This with the clearing of John Lilburn, and likewise of Sir John Stawell some time before, who notwithstanding the Capitulation he made upon surrendering one of the King's Garrisons, was thrice brought to a Tryal for his life, and thrice acquitted by the Jury, which was absolutely contrary to Law, to be try'd again for the same Fact. These things made Cromwel inveigh bitterly against the Ancient and Excellent way of Tryal by Juries.

And as his Conduct herein was as Arbitrary as his turning out his Masters from whom he had his Commission, without any pretence of Authority ; so his assuming the Government in a single Person after he had publicly renounced the same by Oath, with his Garbling of Parliaments afterward discovers him to have a Conscience of no very tender Constitution. And tho' his Policy was remarkable in many instances as well as his Courage, yet his joining with France against Spain, which was too low before for his Rival will scarcely be allowed to be the effect of any great

foresight. Though it may be mitigated by the mistaken Zeal of some of his Preachers, in whom he seemed to repose much confidence, who assured him, That he should go on and prosper, that he was the stone cut out of the Mountain without hands, mentioned in the Prophecy of Daniel, That he should break the Pride of the Spaniard, crush Antichrist, and the Inquisition, and make way for the purity of the Gospel over the whole World; these and such other Motives made him undertake, it may be, what he never at first designed.

However a Gentleman, who had no great favour for him, allows that in some things he deserved well of the Nation, namely, That by Blake he more humbled and subdued the Algerine, Tripoly and Tunis Pyrates, than any ever before or since. That Westminster-Hall had never more Learned and Upright Judges, nor was Justice in Law or Equity ever more equally distributed, in Civil Cases where the Government was not concerned. That he dispensed with the Act of Navigation, which had brought great inconveniences upon the Nation. That though he was very impolitick in joining with France against Spain, yet he made a more advantageous Treaty of Commerce with France than ever the English had before. That he had the Sea Towns of Dunkirk and Mardyke, conquered from Spain, delivered up to him (and would have had Ostend, had he not been deluded) thereby to be Arbitrator over the French or Spaniard when he pleased. Lastly, that he outvied the best of our Monarchs, in rendring the Laws to the Subject in the English Tongue, which is conformable to Common Justice, for if a Law be made in a Language not understood by the Subject, it is all one as if there were no Laws at all; because where there is no Law there is no Transgression.

Another Learned Author adds, that during this Government, Mens Manners, at least outwardly, seemed to be reformed for the better, whether by

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real substracting the Fewel of Luxury, or for fear of the ancient Laws now revived and put in execution. His own Court was also regulated according to a severe discipline, here no Drunkard, Swearer, Whoremonger, nor any guilty of Bribery was to be found, without severe Punishment. Trade began again to prosper, and gentle Peace to flourish all over the Nation. Thus writes this Gentleman, who in other instances appears sufficiently his Enemy. We will then conclude with that old Maxim, What was good in him, let us imitate ; what was otherwise let us avoid.

After his expiration, the Corps was embalmed, and wrapped in a sheet of Lead, and Sep. 26. about 10 at night, removed from Whitehall in a mourning Hearse to Somerset House, where his Effigies was with great magnificence exposed publickly to the view of multitudes, who came daily to see it, till Nov. 3. following, and then in great State it was conducted from Somerset-House to Westminster, and plac'd in the Abbey Church, under a stately Monument erected for it, with the Banners and six Ensigns of Honour placed about it, the Corps having been some days before buried in a Vault purposely provided in King Henry the Seventh's Chappel.


Upon the death of Oliver Cromwel it plainly appeared that his single Courage, Conduct, and Greatness of Mind, was the principal supports of his new Government, which upon his Fall, soon tottered and fell also.

His eldest Son Richard was proclaimed Lord Protector ; but the Officers of the Army differ among themselves, some affirming, that Cromwel when he was well, promised his Son-in-Law Fleetwood, that he should succeed him ; (as being truly Godly) others, That pursuant to the Instrument of Government, he had elected Richard for his Successor. The old Republican Officers having received hard usage from the Father, resolved to revenge it upon his Son, by changing the Protectorship into a Common-wealth.

Richard

Richard whose Judgment and Actions were managed by the direction and suggestion of others, was perswaded by his Friends in this Exigency, to call a Parliament, which he did accordingly, who met Jan. 27. 1658. and Recognized or Acknowledged Richard to be Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and hearing that the discontented Officers caballed against him, they made an Ordinance against their Meeting without Order; which so stung the Officers, that they resolved to be rid of Richard and his Parliament too, some of his Confidants advised him to seize the principal of them; but this he had no heart to do, only talked big, and threatned, which they despised, being rather provoked than terrified thereby, threatning (as some said) to fire Whitehall, and kill all that resisted, if he did not instantly dissolve the Parliament, which he was forced to do, and then they perswaded him to resign the Government, which at length he did, and May 7. 1659. the Officers of the Army recal the remainder of the long Parliament, (in scorn called the Rump,) which made way for King Charles II. So Richard Cromwell after about 8 Months Rule, returned to his former private condition, and the Family of the Cromwellian Protectors expired.

Of all these Transactions, I have given a particular Account in the History of K. Charles II. of the same Value with this, to which I refer the Reader.

Sic tran  *Mundi.*

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